PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI

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PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

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PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

THE VIGIL OF VENUS

EDITED WITH FACSIMILES OF THE CODEX SALMASIANUS AND CODEX THUANEUS, AN INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, APPARATUS CRITICUS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI

SECOND EDITION

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EXTRACT FROM ORIGINAL PREFACE

* * * * * * * *

I am unwilling to close this preface without acknowledging the debt of gratitude which I owe to my friend and former tutor, Mr. C. Cookson, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, not only for seeing the proofs of this book through the press, but for having taught me so to love the Greek and Latin classics that they have been a constant source of pleasure and relief to me during some twelve years spent almost continuously in the Far East. Finally I have to thank my publisher, Mr. B. H. Blackwell, for obtaining the facsimiles of the Parisian MSS. in which the *Pervigilium Veneris* is contained, for much useful information on the subject of the bibliography of the poem, and incidentally for all the Greek and Latin books now in my possession.

C. CLEMENTI.

HONGKONG, 1 *May*, 1911.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this volume was prepared by me in Hongkong, where no classical library exists. Subsequently in 1913, during a spell of leave in England, I had the opportunity of examining at the British Museum almost all that had previously been written about the *Pervigilium Veneris*; and, as the result, I published a pamphlet of fifty-four pages entitled 'Bibliographical and other studies on the *Pervigilium Veneris* compiled from research in the library of the British Museum' (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street). This pamphlet was almost as long as my original edition of the poem.

Although since then my views concerning the *Pervigilium* have undergone little change, it has been on my conscience that my work remained somewhat untidy and unfinished, because I had not properly fitted my bibliographical studies into my edition of the poem and because the explanatory notes in my original edition were insufficient fully to elucidate the text. I have therefore, during another spell of leave in England, made further research in the library of the British Museum, in order to bring up to date my acquaintance with everything that had been written about the *Pervigilium Veneris* since 1913; and I now submit in a compact and completed form all that I have been able to discover about a poem which has occupied my attention at odd moments for many years, and to the study of which I have often turned as a relief and distraction from anxious and harassing official duties.

C. CLEMENTI.

London, 17 *July*, 1928.

PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

I. INTRODUCTION

A LEAF lost from the closing manuscript of Roman poetry, date and authorship alike unknown, the *Pervigilium Veneris*—the Vigil or 'Nocturn' of Venus—found at last a setting in the 'winter's dream'[1] of a scholar, whose midnight fancy lent a new charm to the poem by the thought that it was the work of one who should symbolize in his dying the death of the old mythology, and who in his last hour passed despairing from the joy of spring, of love, and of song, into the silence to come:

> Illa cantat, nos tacemus. Quando ver venit meum?
> Quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam?
> Perdidi Musam tacendo nec me Apollo respicit:
> Sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.

Walter Pater's conjecture is so attractive that, before applying those methods of criticism which during analysis destroy temporarily the charm and even the life of poetry, I venture to give as far as possible in his own words[2] the vivid description he has offered of the genesis and nature of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

It originated, he tells us, in the refrain of a popular chorus, which Flavian, the chosen friend of his hero Marius, had heard sounding all over the town of Pisa one April night, on the eve of the sacred day when from that town, as from many another harbour on the Mediterranean, the ship of Isis, the new rival of ancient Venus, put out to

[1] Χειμερινὸς ὄνειρος ὅτε μήκισται αἱ νύκτες is inscribed by Pater on the title-page of his book, *Marius the Epicurean*.

[2] See *Marius the Epicurean*, Part I, chapters vi and vii.

sea, devoted a sacrifice to the great goddess. Flavian had been deeply influenced by the euphuism of the days of Marcus Aurelius[1] in which he lived, its archaisms and its neologies, no less than its fancy for the refrain in verse composition, while to him, as to his later euphuistic kinsmen, the old mythology seemed as full of untried, unexpressed motives and interests as human life itself. Thus it happened that, when Flavian heard the young men pouring out their chorus—

Cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet!—

as they carried their torches through the yielding crowd or rowed their lanterned boats up and down the stream till far into the night, he caught from their lips the refrain for a mystic hymn to the vernal principle of life in things, a composition shaping itself little by little out of a thousand dim perceptions into singularly definite form—definite and firm as fine art in metal—and brought suddenly to harmonious completeness among the fortunate incidents, the physical heat and light, of one singularly happy day, the Isis festival, now dawned, which he spent with Marius sailing over the waters of the bay, at work suddenly from time to time with his tablets, yet unconsciously drawing into his veins the poison of a fever, which laid him that night upon his death-bed.

So, as he lay with the enemy at his breast, but relieved from that burning fever in the brain, amid rich-scented flowers—rare Paestum roses—procured by Marius for his solace in a fancied convalescence, Flavian would at intervals return to work at his verses with a great eagerness to complete and transcribe the poem, while Marius sat and wrote at his dictation 'one of the latest, but not the poorest, specimens of genuine Latin poetry.

'It was in truth a kind of nuptial hymn, which, taking its start from the thought of nature as the universal mother, celebrated the

[1] A.D. 161–80.

preliminary pairing and mating together of all fresh things in the hot and genial spring-time—the immemorial nuptials of the soul of spring itself and the brown earth; and was full of a delighted, mystic sense of what passed between them in that fantastic marriage. And the mystic burden was relieved at intervals by a familiar playfulness of the Latin verse-writer in dealing with mythology, which, coming at so late a day, had still a wonderful freshness in its old age. . . .

'In the expression of all that Flavian seemed, while making it his chief aim to retain the opulent, many-syllabled vocabulary of the Latin genius, at some points even to have advanced beyond it, in anticipation of wholly new laws of taste as regards sound—of a new range of sound itself; the note of which, associating itself with certain other fancies or experiences of his, was to Marius like the foretaste of an entirely novel world of poetic beauty to come. Flavian had caught, in fact, something of the rhyming cadence, the sonorous organ-music of the mediaeval Latin, and therewithal something of its unction and mysticity of spirit. There was in his work, along with the last splendour of the classical language, a touch, almost prophetic, of that transformed life it was to have in the rhyming middle age just about to dawn. The impression thus forced upon Marius connected itself with a feeling, the precise inverse of that known to every one, which seems to say, *You have been just here, just thus, before!* a feeling in his case not reminiscent but prescient, which passed over him many times afterwards, coming across certain people and places, as if he detected there the process of actual change to a wholly undreamed of and renewed condition of human body and soul. It was as if he saw the heavy, yet decrepit old Roman architecture about him rebuilding on an intrinsically better pattern. Could it have been actually on a new musical instrument that Flavian had just heard those novel accents of his verse? And still Marius noticed there, amid all that richness of impression and imagery, the firmness of outline he had always

relished so much in the composition of Flavian. Yes! a firmness like that of some master of noble metal-work, manipulating tenacious bronze or gold. Even then, the haunting refrain with its *impromptu* variations from the throats of those strong young men floated in at the window.

Cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet!

repeated Flavian, tremulously dictating yet one stanza more.'

II. EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE POEM

Such is the impassioned description of the *Pervigilium Veneris* given by a scholar, whose mind was steeped in the thought and life of the Aurelian period: nor is it possible to summarize more precisely the nature and contents of the poem without first narrating the story of its discovery and discussing the vexed question of its textual arrangement.

Towards the end of the year 1507, Desiderius Erasmus visited Venice, where, in order to see the second edition of his *Adagia*[1] through the press, he lodged with Andrea d'Asolo, father-in-law of Aldo Manuzio,[2] at San Paterniano, near the Rialto. Manuzio was himself living with his father-in-law; and Erasmus has described how he sat in the same room with Aldo revising the book, while the latter and his proof-reader Seraphinus pushed forward the printing. The first edition, published at Paris in 1500, had been jejune, containing only 800 adages, put together with scanty elucidations. But the work now planned, and published in September, 1508, was on more

[1] Erasmi Roterodami Adagiorum Chiliades tres ac Centuriae fere totidem: Ald. Studiosis. S.: Aldus, 1508 [Brit. Mus. No. 634, l. 2]. See folio 94, chilias I, 820, where Erasmus, illustrating the proverb *Amyclas Perdidit Silentium*, writes: 'Meminit de Amyclarum silentio Silius Italicus—*quasque evertere silentia Amyclae.* Meminit et Catullus nisi fallit inscriptio carminis DE VERE, quod nuper nobis Aldus Manutius meus exhibuit, in antiquissima quadam Galliae bibliotheca repertum, *Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium.*' The first edition of the *Adagia* was published at Paris in 1500. There is no copy of it at the British Museum, but I have ascertained from Mr. G. Vine, sub-librarian of the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where there is a copy, that the first edition, which is quite a small volume, does not include the proverb *Amyclas perdidit silentium.*

[2] The editor of the famous Aldine editions of Greek and Roman classics. He lived A.D. 1449–1515. His original name was Teobaldo Manucci (also written Manuzzi).

ambitious lines, full of apt and recondite learning, the collection of 3,260 proverbs justifying the new title *Chiliades Adagiorum*. It was during this visit that Manuzio showed Erasmus the MS., found in a very ancient French library, of a *Carmen de Vere*, ascribed by the copyist to Catullus. The fact that the MS. was discovered in a French library led De la Monnoye[1] to conjecture that, in 1504, Jacopo Sannazaro[2] had, on his return from France, brought with him this codex as well as certain other curious MSS., which he had discovered there, such as the fragments of Ovid's *Halieutica*, the *Cynegetica* of Gratius and Nemesianus, and the *Itinerary* of Rutilius. But all we know for a fact is that Erasmus, in the second edition of his *Adagia*, quotes from the *Carmen de Vere* one line, and one only, in the following form:

Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium.

Neither of the two extant codices of the *Pervigilium Veneris* contains the line in precisely this form: for the *Codex Salmasianus* (hereinafter referred to as S)[3] reads in its ninety-second line:

sic amiclas cum taceret perdedit silentium,

and the *Codex Thuaneus* (hereinafter referred to as T)[4] has as its ninety-first line:

sic amidas cum taceret perdidit silentium.

[1] *Menagiana*, vol. iii, pp. 12–15 (*vide infra* p, 68, under the year 1716). The passage in question reads: 'Érasme, au proverbe *Amyclas perdidit silentium*, est le premier qui ait fait mention de cette pièce attribuée, dit-il, à Catulle dans le manuscrit qu'il en vit chez Alde Manuce. Comme c'est dans une ancienne Bibliothèque de France qu'elle avoit été trouvée, j'ai opinion qu'en 1504 Sannazar, à son retour de ce païs-là, pouvoit bien l'en avoir rapportée avec d'autres manuscrits curieux qu'il y avoit découverts, tels que les fragments des Halieutiques d'Ovide, les Cynégétiques de Gratius et de Nemesianus, l'Itinéraire de Rutilius, et peut-être quelques autres.'

[2] An Italian poet; A. D. 1458–1530 (or 1532).

[3] For a further account of this MS. see pp. 21–4 *infra*.

[4] For a further account of this MS. see pp. 9–10 and note 2 on p. 9 *infra*.

Either, therefore, Erasmus had before him some MS. other than S or T, or else he himself somewhat arbitrarily altered *cum taceret* into *dum tacebant*, or perhaps, having seen S or T (probably the former as it does not miswrite the name *Amiclas*), he quoted the line incorrectly from memory. The fact that the MS., which Erasmus saw, ascribed the poem to Catullus would appear, as the poem is not so ascribed by S or T, to support the theory that the Codex discovered in the ancient French library was neithar S nor T, but some other MS. since lost. Against this argument Jo. Christian Wernsdorf[1] contends that in T the *Epithalamium* of Caius Valerius Catullus Veronensis precedes the *Pervigilium* by a short interval only, and that for this reason Erasmus ascribed the poem to Catullus, although he had before him no other MS. than T. But I find it difficult to believe that so sound a scholar as Erasmus would have attributed the quotation in question to Catullus, adding *nisi fallit inscriptio carminis*, if the MS. before him had not expressly ascribed the poem to Catullus. Indeed, so far from attributing the poem to Catullus, Erasmus appears to have doubted whether the MS. was not at fault in its ascription of the work to that author. It should also be noted that T reads *amidas cum taceret*, not *Amyclas dum tacebant*, and I cannot think that Erasmus would, without mentioning the fact, have made so considerable an alteration in the text. Still less am I disposed to believe that Erasmus would have trusted to his memory in such a matter. Moreover, the *Pervigilium* is next mentioned in 1545 by Giglio Gregorio Giraldi of Ferrara (A. D. 1479–1552), who says: 'Aldum Manutium memini dicere, se Catulli poëma

[1] *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. iii, pp. 423-88 and 535-42 (*vide infra* p. 72, under the year 1782). The passage referred to reads:—'Catulli Veronensis hoc esse Aldus Manutius, Erasmus et Meursius existimarunt, quae opinio inde orta videtur, quod in Pithoei vetustissimo codice non longo intervallo praecedebat Epithalamium C. Val. Catulli. Et quum Aldi Manutii exemplar, quod ille Catullo tribuisse dicitur, in antiquissima Galliae bibliotheca repertum sit, suspicor hoc ex eodem codice, quem postea Pithoeus vidit, descriptum fuisse.'

habere quod VER inscribitur. Idem et Erasmus fatetur: necdum tamen mihi videre contigit.'[1] Thus apparently Manuzio as well as Erasmus had noticed that the Codex in question ascribed the poem to Catullus: and neither of these eminent scholars referred to the poem as *Pervigilium Veneris*, which title occurs both in S and T. Erasmus spoke of it as *Carmen de Vere*, and Manuzio described it as *poëma quod VER inscribitur*. It, therefore, seems certain that in their MS. the opening line of the poem was not the refrain, as in S and T, but the line *Uer nouum, uer iam canorum*, &c.; and I would in passing note this as a further confirmation of the conjecture that the refrain should be omitted from the beginning of the poem.[2] On the whole, therefore, (*a*) because the penultimate line of the poem as quoted by Erasmus differs from that line as written in S and T; (*b*) because S and T do not ascribe the poem to Catullus; (*c*) because the poem in S and T is expressly entitled *Pervigilium Veneris*, which cannot have been the case in the MS. which Erasmus and Manuzio saw; and finally (*d*) because the poem in S and T begins with the refrain and not with the line *Uer nouum*, &c., I conclude with some confidence that Manuzio and Erasmus had before them a MS. (other than S or T) which has since been lost.

Joseph Justus Scaliger[3] is the next scholar who mentions the *Pervigilium*. He suggested, in 1577,[4] that the author of the *Carmen*

[1] Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum Dialogi decem, quibus scripta et vitae eorum sic exprimuntur, ut ea perdiscere cupientibus, minimum iam laboris esse queat: Lilio Gregorio Gyraldo Ferrariensi auctore: cum indice locupletissimo: Basileae, 1545 [Brit. Mus. No. 1161. b. 2]. See book x, p. 1089.

[2] See p. 31 *infra*.

[3] The family name was *della Scala*, or *de l'Escale*: the father Julius Caesar Scaliger lived A. D. 1484–1558 and the son Joseph Justus Scaliger lived A. D. 1540–1609.

[4] Iosephi Scaligeri Iul. Caes. fili Castigationes in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium: Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium, in officina Rob. Stephani; 1577 [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. b. 5]. At p. 4 Scaliger writes:—'Id tantum dicam: Urbicarium et

de Vere, referred to by Erasmus, was not C. Val. Catullus Veronensis, but a certain Catullus Urbicarius Mimographus, mentioned by Juvenal and Martial.[1] It was in the same year that Pierre Pithou (Petrus Pithoeus *or* Pythoeus; A.D. 1539–96) discovered the poem in the *Codex Thuaneus*,[2] from which he prepared the first printed text of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.[3] This edition was printed towards the close of 1577 in small 4to size (280 × 160 mm.) on two sheets, making four pages in all. On pages 1–3 the *Pervigilium* itself is printed and on page 4 the verses known as *Floridi de qualitate vitae*, which form Nos. 245–52 in Alexander Riese's *Anthologia Latina*.[4] The text is a faithful transcript of the *Codex Thuaneus* (now No. 8071 in the National Library at Paris) and is preceded by the following preface, dated Jan. 1, 1578:

Lectori.

Qui mos veteribus cum desperatos ante ianuas collocarent, ut vel extremum spiritum redderent terrae, vel possent a transeuntibus forte curari; idem mihi consilium fuit in disponendis huius poematis, sane antiqui, sive Catulli, sive alterius sit, reliquiis; quarum ego salutem commendatam cupio vel Medicorum pueris, dum quâ fide a nobis exhibentur de vetustissimo, sed unico exemplari, eadem, ut par est, ab omnibus tractentur. Kl. Ian. CIↃIↃLXXVIII.

Mimographum poetam huic nostrō cognomine fuisse: cuius meminit Iuvenalis. Et fortasse is fuit auctor carminis DE VERE, ex quo hoc citat Erasmus: *Sic Amyclas, dum tacebant, perdidit silentium.*'

[1] Juv. *Sat.* viii. 186 and xiii. 111; Martial v. 30. 3.

[2] So called because on its second folio are inscribed the words 'Iac. Aug. Thuanj', indicating that it once belonged to Jacques Auguste de Thou (A. D. 1553–1617), owner of the famous library, known as *Bibliotheca Thuanea*, at Paris. The *Pervigilium* is written on folio 52 sqq. in this MS., and a facsimile of the pages in question is contained in my editions of the poem.

[3] See *Revue de Philologie* ix, pp. 124–6 (under the year 1885 at p. 80 *infra*). H. Omont was the scholar who rediscovered this *editio princeps* of the poem.

[4] Vol i (see also p. 79 under the year 1869 *infra*).

Pithou sent copies of this booklet to Joseph Justus Scaliger, to Jan van der Does, the Elder (Janus Dousa, pater; A.D. 1545–1604), and to Joest Lips (Justus Lipsius; A.D. 1547–1606). Scaliger returned his copy some time later to Pithou approving a certain number of the conjectured emendations, which Pithou had printed in the margin of his text, and suggesting to him certain others. This copy of the *editio princeps*, with Scaliger's comments, is now bound up in vol. 395 (fols. 68–9) of the 'Collection Dupuy' in the National Library at Paris.[1] It is interesting to note that, at the head of his comments on the text, Scaliger somewhat modified his opinion as to the authorship of the poem, saying: 'Poeta iste floruit post Antoninorum tempora, quod facile ex charactere deprehenditur; et, si verum auguror, post Constantinum; quibus temporibus non temere alio quam trochaico metro scribebant. Non alias crebrior eius metri usus.'

We learn from Achille Estaço (Achilles Statius; A.D. 1524–81) that only three or four copies of Pithou's *editio princeps* were printed.[2] All of them, except the one now preserved at Paris, appear to have been lost. Estaço himself could not procure a printed copy, but obtained in 1578 a transcript for his own use; and this MS. copy, together with the marginal annotations of Estaço, is now preserved as MS. B. 106 in

[1] Scaliger wrote to Pithou from Poitiers on June 2, 1578: 'Je ne sai si vous avés reçeu la response que je vous feis touchant le *Pervigilium Veneris*. Je la baillai à M^re^ Henri Simon, qui a esté receveur des fortifications' . . . Also on June 29, 1578, he wrote in a postscript: 'Je vous envoie ce que j'ai cotté sur le *Pervigilium Veneris* et ce que m'en semble, mais ne prenés pas mon avis *tanquam κυρίας δόξας*. Je l'ai faict pour vous obéir'. . . . (Collection Dupuy, vol. 496, fols. 178 and 180.)

[2] See *Revue de Philologie* ix, pp. 124–6 (under the year 1885 at p. 80 *infra*). E. Chatelain was the scholar who first drew attention to the MS. of Estaço on the *Pervigilium*. Estaço writes:—'Mons. Pythoeus n'ha fatti stampare 3 o 4 solasse. Non n'ho potuto haver in stampa, ma l'ho trascritto come elle sta.' Estaço must have received this copy early in 1578, for the letter addressed to Pinelli, which follows in the MS., is dated '8 eid. April 1578'.

the Vallicellana Library. We do not know what became of the printed copy of the *editio princeps* sent by Pithou to Jan van der Does; but it seems probable that this scholar also returned his copy to Pithou with suggested emendations, one of which (that on line 22) has survived. Here T reads *ip iussit mane tuae*, for which Van der Does proposed *ipsa iussit mane ut udae*, a brilliant correction which was accepted by Joest Lips as well as by Pithou.[1]

From the copy of the *Pervigilium* which Pithou had sent him, Joest Lips prepared and published at Antwerp in 1580 an elaborate edition of the poem,[2] the first generally accessible to the scholastic world. In his introduction Lips wrote: 'Carmen vulgabo, quod clarissimus I. C. Petrus Pythoeus munus mihi misit; sed carmen non visum antea, non lectum; et cui merito praefabor, *favete linguis*. Repperit vir doctissimus et diligentissimus harum rerum, in vetusto eoque unico exemplari; et inde qua fide ille transcripsit, eadem inseram his libris; sine fraude quidem; quia ista quasi adoptio, volente amico nostro est, immo iussu. Carmen sic habet—'. Then follows the text faithfully copied from the *editio princeps*. Incidentally we learn from a note of Lips on line 17 that another scholar Janus Lernutius[3] had hazarded a conjectural emendation of that line. I cannot, however, find any further contribution to the subject by Lernutius.

[1] Lips says: 'Douza, inquam, legebat—*mane ut udae virgines nubant rosae*: rectissime'; *loc. cit.* in note 2 *infra*; and Pithou comments on this: 'Placet coniectura: ea Lipsii et Dousae est'; *loc. cit.* in note 1 on p. 12 *infra*.

[2] Iusti Lipsii Electorum Liber I: in quo, praeter censuras, varii prisci ritus: Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, architypographi regii: 1580 [Brit. Mus. No. 590. b. 3]. Chapter v at pp. 35–46 of this work is entitled 'Carmen poetae veteris non antea visum: de scriptore quaesitum: multa in eo emendata et illustrata', and contains an introduction, text of the *Pervigilium*, and notes thereon.

[3] Lips writes: 'Lernutius noster, *decadivo pondere*,' i.e. as an emendation of *de cadū pondere* the reading of T in line 17 of the *Pervigilium*. This conjecture is, however, certainly wrong.

Seven years later, in 1587, Pithou himself published at Paris for the scholastic world at large an edition of the *Pervigilium*, based on T, under the heading *Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii*;[1] and in the following year Jan van der Does, the Younger (Janus Dousa, filius; A.D. 1571–97), edited the poem in connexion with his work on Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius. I have been unable to find a copy of the first edition of this book at the British Museum, where there is, however, a copy of the second edition, published in 1592.[2] The editions of Van der Does are chiefly notable for the attempt made by him to foist upon the scholastic world, by way of a coarse practical joke, a bogus and obscene *Pervigilium Veneris*, of

[1] Petronii Arbitri Satyricon: adiecta sunt veterum quorundam poetarum carmina non dissimilis argumenti: ex quibus non nulla emendatius, alia nunc primum eduntur: cum notis doctorum virorum: Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium, typographum regium: 1587 [Brit. Mus. No. 685. d. 7]. This work contains at pp. 146–9, under the heading 'Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii', the text of the *Pervigilium* from T and an unsigned preface by Pithou, whose notes on the poem are at pp. 111–16.

[2] (*a*) Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, iampridem viri docti iudicio castigati et nunc denuo recogniti ac variis lectionibus et notis illustrati a Iano Dousa Filio: accessit Pervigilium Veneris: Lugduni Bat.; ex officina Plantiniana: apud Franciscum Raphelengium; 1592 [Brit. Mus. No. 165. k. 24]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 258–61. (*b*) Bound in the same volume are: 'Iani Dousae Filii in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium coniectanea et notae, in quibus et aliorum scriptorum loci varii explicantur aut corriguntur. Item Iani Dousae Patris in Propertium paralipomena: Lugd. Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium: 1592'. This book contains at pp. 142–6 a reprint of the Electa I, cap. 5, of Joest Lips: cf. note 2, p. 11 *supra*; and at pp. 123–4 the younger Dousa himself writes in cap. 15 of his *Coniectanea et Notae in librum Sext. Propertii*: 'Sequitur Pervigilium Veneris, quod colophonem et fastigium imponat his Notis. In quo tantum pauca et levia monebo post accuratissimam castigationem clarissimi Lipsii, quod antequam faciam non abs re videor facturus, si Fragmentum nondum editum ex altero quodam Pervigilio Veneris elegantissimo, sed nimis Latino, hic apponam, quod a nobili ac docto adolescente Hieronymo Grostotio Listaeo integrum aliubi in Gallia extare comperi. Caeterum is

whose existence in some French library he would have us believe that a noble and learned youth Hieronymus Grostotius Listaeus had informed him, and from which Listaeus had quoted the only four lines which he knew by heart, the first line being the refrain. For the moment scholars were taken in, and several grave and learned comments were written upon the four lines in question, until in 1638 Claude de Saumaise and Pieter Schrijver exposed the fraud.[1]

In 1597 Joannes Isaacius Pontanus, professor at Harderwijk, in a note on Macrobius vii. 16,[2] made a misguided proposal to amend line 3

hos quatuor tantum versus in memoria habebat, quod nobis recitavit. Eorum intercalare erat primum trochaicum:

Nemo tentis mentulis det, nemo nervis otium.
Ecce passeres salaces, ecce rauci turtures,
Hac super virente myrto nos amoris admonent
Cum puellis dulce inire vesticontubernium.
Nemo tentis, &c.

Vocem *vesticontubernium* etiam Petronius utitur, *et quid agebas, inquit, frater sanctissime? quid vesticontubernium facis?* Hoc quid sit explicat Epigrammatarius Graecus: *ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ ὁπόταν κρύψῃ μία τοὺς φιλέοντας | χλαῖνα.*'

[1] *Loc. cit.* in note 1, p. 23 *infra*, at p. 463 Schrijver writes of Dousa's fraud: 'Hoc Dousae ab amico erat communicatum; qui integrum aliubi in Gallia extare asseverabat. Sed mentiebatur: et impositum est nobilissimo atque optimo iuveni. Quid multis? Supposititium est hoc fragmentum: quod cum mihi iamdiu valde suspectum esset, ita in opinione veteri me confirmavit literis suis Cl. Salmasius:—P. S. Cl. S. S. D. . . . Liquet quid sit apud Arbitrum *veste contubernium facere*: pro quo Criticis nostris male feriatis placuit unicam monstrosam vocem facere *vesticontubernium*; quam elegantiarum ille arbiter longe a se merito spernat ac respuat. Inde sumpsit auctor fragmenti suppositii,

Cum puellis dulce inire vesticontubernium.

Quod procusum esse ab eo qui primus prodidit, tam sum certus quam me vivere.'

[2] Aur. Theodosii Macrobi V. Cl. et inlustris opera Ioh. Isaacius Pontanus recensuit: et Saturnaliorum libros MS. ope auxit, ordinavit et castigationes sive notas adiecit: Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1597 [Brit. Mus. No. 1089. f. 17].

of the *Pervigilium*. He wrote: 'Alterum deinde quod innuo, in Pervigilio Veneris est, et ita editur: *Vere concordant amores, vere nubent alites.* Emendant, *nubunt.* At scripsit quisquis ille scriptor, *vere pubent alites*: idque valet quod dicitur vulgo, *vernant.* Plautus, *Dum aviculae vernant.* Et Arbiter, *vernantesque comas tristis abegit hiems.* Sententiam vero hanc esse adstruit quoque quod sequitur: *Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.* Totum ita expressit Naso:

Prataque pubescunt variorum flore colorum,
Indocilique loquax gutture vernat avis.'

The *Pervigilium* is next mentioned in 1599 by Jan de Meurs (Ioannes Meursius; A.D. 1579–1639), who, writing under the heading *Catullus in Pervigilio correctus*,[1] urges that the refrain of the poem should really be:

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique *amabit*, cras amet.

Few, if any, scholars will be found to agree with this emendation; but it is a curious coincidence that S, which was unknown when Jan de Meurs wrote, reads in the first line (but nowhere else)—

Cras amet qui numquam *amabit* quique amauit cras amet.

A more important contribution to the subject was made in 1606 by Jan van der Wouwer of Hamburg (Johannes Wowerius; A.D. 1574–

[1] Ioannis Meursi Exercitationum Criticarum pars secunda, in qua animadversionum miscellarum libri quatuor, quibus scriptores varii castigantur illustranturque, maxime Arnobius et Festus: Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Ludovici Elzevirii; 1599 [Brit. Mus. No. 1089. i. 18]. Meursius says in lib. iii, cap. 14, at p. 143: 'Versus ille intercalaris est in Pervigilio Veneris *Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet.* Quem languere hactenus ex tam doctis et acutis viris nemo sensit, cum tamen non leviter languescat, ita ut lumbifragium abstulisse (Plauti verbis) merito videatur. Quid enim quaeso iubeat illos denuo amare, qui semel amarunt, et habent iam speratam suam sponsam pactam. Fallor, aut scripsit iste Auctor, quicunque tandem, *Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit, quique amabit, cras amet.* Atque haec mihi sedet super eo loco sententia.'

1612). Commenting on the words *Ros vero nocturnus humor est, quem Serenitas tenuiter spargit* in the treatise of Appuleius *de Mundo*,[1] he says: 'In veteri libro: *quem serenitas sudat.* Quod cum perelegans visum, notare libuit. Ita Fulgentius *I. Mytholog.*—

Ubi guttas florulentae
Mane rorat purpurae
Humor algens, cum serenis
Astra sudant noctibus.

Lepidi sane versus, sed deprehensi sub aperto furto, quod data occasione indicabo. Auctor poëmatij, cui index: *Pervigilium Veneris*

—ipsa roris lucidi
Noctis aura quē relinquit, spargit umētis aquas.
Gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos.
In pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae:
Humor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus,
Mane virgineas papillas solvit humenti peplo.

Tota oratio elegans et lepida de humore noctis. Rectius autem scribi existimarim: *In sudore florulentae prodierunt purpurae.* Rosas appellat *florulentas purpuras*, easque uvidas noctis sudore ait. Manifesta vero Fulgentij imitatio. Non puto illustrius exstare testimonium, quod auctoritatem astruat huic poëmatio. Et miror sane inter tot eruditos huius carminis interpretes neminem hoc observasse; quos nollem poëmatis natalem aeuo Augusti transcripsisse. Non recipit tam molles et deliciosas elegantias. Sed non flectam ad aliena insti-

[1] L. Apuleii Madaurensis Platonici Opera: Ioan à Wouuer ad veterum librorum fidem recensuit, infinitis locis emendavit, non nullis auxit: ex bibliopolio Frobeniano; 1606. [Brit. Mus. No. 11306. bbbb. 4]. See pp. 649-50. See also Ioan. Wovweri Dies Aestiva sive de Umbra Paegnion: sumptibus Michaelis Heringij; anno 1610 [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. d. 4]: at the end of chap. 24, on p. 112 Wouwer says: 'Favet enim furtis Veneris umbra: pavidos alioquin amatores confirmat, et velo involvit': adding this footnote: 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris—*amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum Implicat gazas virentes de flagello myrteo.*'

tutum. In Fulgentio legendum: *Humor algens, quem serenis.* Et in Pervigilio:—*ipsa roris, lucidae Noctis aura, quem relinquit, spargit humentes aquas.* Neque enim assentior corrigenti: *cum reliquit.* Ipsa Dione spargit humorem roris, quem relinquit aura lucidae noctis.'

Then follows a curious episode in the bibliography of the *Pervigilium.* Caspar von Barth (Caspar Barthius; A.D. 1587–1658), writing in 1612,[1] says: 'Nacti non longe post sumus et exemplar scriptum Venerii illius Pervigilii, quod omnes elegantia praestantissimum norunt, sub titulo Senecae, ut quidem carie confectae litterae demonstrant . . . Ex bibliotheca etiam Martispirgica exemplar perbonum indeptus sum Boethii de Consolatione . . . cum alio Epistolarum Senecae, non quidem adeo antiquo, sed perbono tamen.' In the following year[2] Von Barth gives further details regarding this MS., of which he writes: 'In eo vero opere iunctim invenimus scripta: Senecae Epistolas in locos Communes redactas. Boethium de Consolatione Philosophiae. Pervigilii Veneris fragmentum sub nomine Senecae.' He proceeds in the same passage to state that his MS. also contained (*a*) the Odes of Vesprucius Spurinna; (*b*) 'dicta sapientium a Thalete Graecorum primo Philosopho ad Priscianum ultimum Grammaticum Latinorum'; (*c*) 'Librum Monachicum . . . de Gestis Alexandri Magni, qui tamen alio atramento et membrana recentiore scriptus A.D. 1424'; (*d*) other Christian and Gentile

[1] Casp. Barthi ad Cl. Claudiani quae exstant Animadversiones: iusti commentarii praemetium; 1612; being the second volume of a work entitled Claudi Claudiani poetae praegloriosissimi quae exstant, Caspar Barthius recensuit et Animadversionum librum adiecit: Hanoviae, in Bibliopolio Willieriano, 1612 [Brit. Mus. No. 1001. b. 9]: at p. 147.

[2] Vesprici Spurinnae, poetae veteris, odae quattuor: ex membranis in lucem editae, a Caspare Barthio, cum eiusdem notis: at pp. 157–66 of Venatici et Bucolici Poetae Latini, Gratius, Nemesianus, Calpurnius, in Germania hactenus non editi, nunc commentariis luculentis explanati: addita fragmenta Vesprici Spurinnae scriptoris nunquam hactenus publicati: Hanoviae, in Bibliopolio Willieriano, 1613 [Brit. Mus. No. 1001. b. 2]: see p. 158.

songs; (*e*) 'Vegetium de re militari, antiquissimum exemplar'; and finally (*f*) 'Leonis Eretiarii ad Manuelem Imperatorem de insomniis Commentarium.' He adds: 'Haec opera, recenti manu in unum fascem compacta Martispurgi in Misniae[1] et Turingiae finibus, inter rudera Bibliothecae disiectae et contemtae invenimus. Vario omnia atramento, variaque aetate scripta.' Finally he remarks:[2] 'Unum mihi mirum Georgium Fabricium, qui et alias saepe, et tum praecipue cum Poetarum Christianorum Opus publicaret,[3] eam Bibliothecam excussit, unde nos ista accepimus, haec Manuscripta Opera situ non vindicasse, cum diligentissimus alioqui Antiquitatis rimator esset. Sed, ut fuit homo minime malus, offendisse ipsum puto Pervigilii Venerei salacitatem, quod eodem opere scriptum esset.' Caspar von Barth, moreover, alludes to three passages in the *Pervigilium*. First, in his note on the words *renascitur annus* in Calpurnius, Eclogue v. 21, he says:[4] 'Vide elegantissimum carmen quod Pervigilium Veneris autumatur'; from which it would appear that the text before him read in line 2 *ver renatus orbis est*, a reading contained neither in T nor S, but proposed by Joest Lips as an emendation. Secondly, at line 22 of the same Eclogue on the words *Tunc Venus* he notes:[5] 'Omnium a. elegantissime auctor delicati illius Pervigilii.' This

[1] Meissen, a German margraviate, subsequently merged in the kingdom of Saxony.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 160.

[3] Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana, et operum reliquiae atque fragmenta: thesaurus catholicae et orthodoxae ecclesiae, et antiquitatis religiosae, ad utilitatem iuventutis scholasticae: collectus, emendatus, digestus, et commentario quoque expositus, diligentia et studio Georgii Fabricii Chemnicensis: cum privilegio Caesareo ad sexennium: Basiliae per Iohannem Oporinum: 1564 [Brit. Mus. No. 655. b. 20]: with a dedicatory epistle dated xiii Cal. Mart. anno a nato Christo, Dei et virginis filio, 1562.

[4] *Loc. cit.* (at note 2, p. 16 *supra*), p. 363, commenting on the lines—*Tunc florent siluae, viridisque renascitur annus Tunc Venus et calidi scintillat fervor Amoris.*

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 363.

apparently refers to lines 9–11 of the *Pervigilium*, which commence in T with the words *tunc quiuore de superhuc* and were amended by Jan van der Does, with whom Lips agrees, to read *tunc cruore de superno*, a correction afterwards confirmed by the discovery of S. Lastly, in a note on the word *scintillat* in the same passage,[1] Von Barth says: 'Pari elegantia amoris *oculos* in vere agnoscit Pervigilii scriptor.' Now, at line 23, T actually reads *deque amoris oculis*, a palpable error for *osculis*, the reading of S; but Lips retains *oculis* in his text without comment. Further than this, Von Barth quotes no less than ten lines from the *Pervigilium*. He says:[2] (*a*) 'Quam mentem Veneris nomine insignit et nimis mollibus versiculis decantat Auctor Pervigilii Veneris delicatissimi:

> Ipsa venas atque mentem permeante spiritu
> Intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,
> Perque coelum perque terras perque pontum subditum
> Pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
> Imbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.'

These lines follow word for word the text of Joest Lips. (*b*) 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris; *Imbuit iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias*',[3] thus again quoting line 67. (*c*) 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris quod edidit in lucem Iust. Lipsius Electorum I. cap. v *Ecce iam super genestas explicant agni latus*. Distinctio hic vulgo mendosa, facilis correctu.'[4] Here both MSS. read *explicat aonii latus*, and Barth expressly informs us that he has adopted the emendation suggested by Lips. (*d*) 'Pervigilii scriptor:

> Cras erit qui primus aether copulavit nuptias,
> Ut parens totis crearet vernis annum nubibus,
> In sinum maritus imber fluxus almae coniugis
> Ut foetus immixtus omnes aleret magno corpore.

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 367.
[2] *Loc. cit.* at n. 1, p. 16 *supra*, p. 241.
[3] *Loc. cit.* at n. 2, p. 16 *supra*, p. 232.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 312.

Quem in animadversis belle emendabimus.'[1] Here again Barth quotes the text of T, as emended by Lips; but in 1624, when writing his *Adversaria*,[2] after quoting the same lines in the same form, he adds: 'Qui versus etiamnum mendosi quoque sunt; non huius loci opem poscentes. Hoc monere tamen de universo carmine volumus; scriptum nos exemplar habere ubi Senecae adscribitur expresse: et observasse versum fere integrum Fulgentianum, qui extat I. Mythologiarum.'[3] Finally at page 1999 of the *Adversaria* his last word on the subject is: 'Auctor Pervigilii Veneris, nec Catullus, nec Urbicarius, forte Seneca.'[4]

These remarks of Barth have led some scholars to assume that he had before him a MS., other than T or S, which has since been lost. Doubtless this was so; but I feel confident that the MS. of Barth was only a comparatively modern transcript of the *Pervigilium*, based upon the text of T as emended by Joest Lips, such (for instance) as the transcript which Estaço made for his own use. My reasons for this conclusion are (*a*) the fact that the lines of the *Pervigilium* quoted, or alluded to, by Barth follow *verbatim* the text of T, as emended by Lips; and (*b*) that Barth has himself stated that the various component parts of his MS. were written at different dates (one as late as 1424) and in different inks, and had been bound into one volume 'by a recent hand'. As regards the heading in which (it is said) the poem was ascribed to Seneca, I would draw attention to Barth's statements that the words of the title were 'carie confectae': that, in addition to other miscellaneous works, his MS. contained 'Senecae epistolas in Locos Communes redactas': and that, in spite of the superscription,

[1] *Ibidem, p.* 187.

[2] Casp. Barthi Adversariorum Commentariorum Libri LX: Francofurti, typis Wechelianis, apud Danielem et Davidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium: 1624 [Brit. Mus. No. 71. f. 9]: see lib. xvi, cap. 6, at vol. i, p. 832.

[3] This had already been pointed out by Wouwer: see p. 15 *supra*.

[4] *Loc. cit.* at note 2 on this page; lib. xliv, cap. 7, at vol. ii, p. 1999.

Barth appears to have doubted whether Seneca was the author—in 1624 he will only say that 'perhaps Seneca was the author'. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that in Barth's MS. the *Pervigilium* was immediately preceded by a work of Seneca, to which the copyist appended some such words as *explicit Senecae liber*, and that these words were so mutilated as to appear to be prefixed to the *Pervigilium*, rather than appended to the work of Seneca.

Meanwhile in 1613 Joannes Weitzius had published at Frankfurt an annotated edition of the *Pervigilium Veneris* by itself, and the same scholar published at Leyden in 1618 a further edition of the same work among his *Catalecta Poetarum Veterum*.[1] Neither of these editions can be found in the library of the British Museum,[2] where there are, however, copies of the editions of the *Pervigilium* published by Georgius Erhardus [3] at Frankfurt in 1621,[4] by Jo. Petrus Lotichius, Med. D., at Frankfurt am Main in 1629,[5] and by Johannes Mercerius also in 1629.[6]

[1] Wernsdorf, *loc. cit.* in note 1, p. 7 *supra*, at p. 453 writes: 'Separatim Pervigilium cum notis suis edidit Io. Weitzius, Francof. 1613, in 4. Idem Pervigilium deinceps comparavit inter Catalecta Poetarum veterum, Petronio editionis Frellonianae, Lugd. 1618.'

[2] But see *loc. cit.* at note 1, p. 23 *infra*, at pp. 201–12.

[3] Pseudonym of Michael Caspar Lundorp.

[4] T. Petroni Arbitri Satyricon cum Petroniorum fragmentis nunc iterum limatum et auctum: accesserunt seorsim doctorum annotationes, scholia, observationes, coniecturae, emendationes, notae, variae lectiones, coniectanea, praecidanea, spicilegia, animadversiones, racemationes, symbolae, cum quinque in eadem indicibus locupletissimis: Francofurti, in officina Wecheliana, apud Danielem et Davidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium: 1621 [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. l. 9]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 234–8.

[5] T. Petroni Arbitri Satyricon, super profligatis Neronianae tempestatis moribus: commentariis, sive excursibus medico-philosophicis, itemque notis universalibus et perpetuis recens adornatum: in quibus difficilima quaeque loca, atque a variis interpretibus partim studio praetermissa, partim nequaquam tentata, adamussim explicantur, illustranturque: editio nova et locupletissima, tam medicis, poetis, quam

Hitherto all editions, including those of 1621 and 1629, had been based solely upon T; but a new chapter in the history of the poem had already opened in 1619 with the researches of the famous French scholar, Claude de Saumaise (Claudius Salmasius; A. D. 1588–1658), who then first mentioned his intention of editing the *Pervigilium*, saying with reference to line 46: 'Sic *vigla* pro *vigilia*, unde *βίγλαι* Graecis barbaris: inde et verbum *perviglare* apud auctorem Pervigilii Veneris: *De tenente tota nox est peruiglanda canticis.* Ita enim in optimo et vetustissimo libro scriptum reperimus, cuius libri ope, nos propediem illud poema auctius emendatiusque dabimus.'[7]

philosophis, historicis, oratoribus, antiquariis, philologis, criticis ac politicis utilis ac necessaria. Accessit ad mantissam sylloge clariss. aliquot interpretum, quorum in Petronium castigationes huc-usque nondum editae, noviter recensente Io. Petro Lotichio, Med.D., eiusdemque in Academia Rintelana P. P.; Francofurti ad Moenum, typis exscribebat Wolfgangus Hofmannus, sumptibus Lucae Iennisi; 1629 [Brit. Mus. No. 834. k. 5]. Text of *Pervigilium* at pp. 91–3.

[6] T. Petronii Arbitri Equitis Romani Satyricon, in capita dissectum, cum omnibus omnium interpretum observationibus, notis et commentariis: hactenus sigillatim, nunc tandem sub unum conspectum, ad calcem cuiusque capitis, collocatis. Cum novo insuper et locupletissimo rerum et verborum indice. Accedunt et alia nonnulla Petroniorum fragmenta veterumque poetarum catalecta, Sulpiciaeque vita et satyra. Excudebat Iohannes Mercerius: 1629 [Bodleian: BB. 24. Art.]. In the second part of this volume at pp. 43–5 is printed the text of the *Pervigilium* under the heading 'Veterum Quorundam Poetarum Errones Venerii', with Pithou's preface, and notes upon two lines, viz. (*a*) line 46, where Mercerius reads *Detinent, et tota nox est pervigilia canticis*: and (*b*) line 52, where Mercerius reads *Hybla florum rumpe restes quant' aethnae campus est.*

[7] Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI; Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, Flauius Vopiscus; Claudius Salmasius ex veteribus libris recensuit, et librum adiecit notarum ac emendationum, quibus adiunctae sunt notae ac emendationes Isaaci Casaubon iam antea editae: Parisiis, 1620; cum privilegio regis [Brit. Mus. No. 681. i. 5]. The preface by Saumaise to this book is dated Pr. Id. Aug. 1619. See Part II, p. 303, in the commentary on Trebellius Pollio.

This MS. is now known as the *Codex Salmasianus* (No. 10318 in the National Library at Paris), the name of Saumaise being written in the margin at the head of the first page, thus—'Cl; Salmasij ⏜'. A facsimile of the whole codex[1] has been published in 1903 under the title 'Bibliothèque Nationale: département des manuscrits: Anthologie de Poètes Latins dite de Saumaise: reproduction réduite du manuscrit en onciale, Latin 10318, de la Bibliothèque Nationale; Paris, Imprimerie Berthaud Frères, 31 Rue de Bellefond' [Brit. Mus. Facsimile No. 30]; and a printed edition of the codex was published by Alexander Riese in 1869.[2] Saumaise tells us that this MS. was given him by Jean Lacurne, bailli d'Arnai le Duc,[3] probably at some date between 1609 and 1620,[4] and from it he quotes in 1629 four more lines of the *Pervigilium*.[5] It was not, however, until 1637 that Saumaise

[1] A facsimile of the pages of this codex, on which the *Pervigilium* is written, is contained in my editions of the poem. [2] See p. 79 *infra* under the year 1869.

[3] Riese *ibidem*, quotes from p. 44 of *loc. cit.* in note 7, p. 21 *supra*, the words: 'Ex veteri libro, cuius nobis copiam fecit eruditissimus et ingeniosissimus castissimique iudicii vir Iohannes Lacurnaeus, quem honoris causa nomino.' But I have not succeeded in finding this quotation.

[4] Riese, *ibidem*, says of the Codex Salmasianus: 'Primo innotuit cum *Jean Lacurne, bailli d'Arnai le Duc*, Claudio Salmasio codicem dedit; quod ante a. 1609 non potuit fieri, quo anno Salmasius Heidelberga Diuionem rediit.'

[5] Claudii Salmasii Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora: item Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistor ex Veteribus Libris emendatus: accesserunt huic editioni De Homonymis Hyles Iatricae Exercitationes antehac ineditae, nec non De Manna et Saccharo: Tomus I: Traiecti ad Rhenum, apud Iohannem van de Walter, Iohannem Ribbium, Franciscum Halma et Guilielmum van de Water, Bibliop.; 1689 [Brit. Mus. No. 11352. i. 8]. To this edition is prefixed a letter, dated 'ex Gryniaco, Kal. Martiis, 1629', addressed by Saumaise 'Serenissimae Venetorum Reipublicae': (*a*) at p. 196. b. B.: 'Auctor *pervigilii veneris* quem Catullum esse nullo iudicio volunt eruditi, cum sit mediae aetatis, et Solino supparis:

> Tum cruore de superno, spumeo Pontus globo
> Caerulas inter catervas, inter et bipedes equos
> Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus.

carried out the intention of editing the *Pervigilium*, expressed by him in 1619. On the 17th February, 1637, he wrote as follows from Leyden in a letter to Pieter Schrijver (Petrus Scriverius; A. D. 1576–1660), sending him the codex, now known as Salmasianus: 'Clarissimo viro Scriverio Cl. Salmasius S. D. Recepi tandem hesterno die Codicem scriptum Epigrammatum, in quo Pervigilium. . . . Ipsum codicem tibi mitto. Cum ex eo quod volueris excerpseris ut in usum tuum convertas, ad me remittes. Vale et me ama. Lugd. Bat. xvii Februarii CIↃIↃCXXXVII.' Saumaise threw the whole of his commentary on the *Pervigilium* into the body of this letter, of which I have quoted the opening and closing sentences only, and its receipt stimulated Schrijver to write his *Animadversiones in Pervigilium* which were published in 1638, under the heading *Pervigilii Veneris nova editio auctior et emendatior*, as part of the edition of *Dominici Baudii Amores*.[1] At pp. 179–90 of this book is a reprint of the fifth chapter of book i of the *Electa* of Joest Lips;[2] at pp. 191–8 a reprint entitled *Petri Pythoei notae in*

Ita legendus ille locus. *Fecit*, idest, procreavit. Idiotismus illius aevi': (*b*) at p. 303. b. F., 'Et *humorem* pro aqua posuit . . . Et in pervigilio Veneris:

Tunc humore de superno, spumeo Pontus globo,
Fecit undantem Dionem.

Nihil tamen muto': (*c*) at p. 796. a. B.: 'Expressit *maritum rorem* Solini, quum dixit *permixtione roris* margaritas concipi. Sic *maritus imber* apud auctorem Pervigilii Veneris:

Fecit undantem Dionem de maritis imbribus':

(*d*) at p. 796. a. E.: 'Vetus poeta in Pervigilio:

Humor ille quem seneris astra sudant noctibus.

Rorem intelligit. Veteris poetae fragmentum *rorifluam lunam* appellat:

Quam nos rorifluam sectemur carmine lunam.

Poema illud non rectiore iudicio tribuitur Varroni Atacino quam Pervigilium Veneris Catullo. Utriusque carminis auctor non longe fuit ab aetate Solini.'

[1] Dominici Baudii Amores, edente Petro Scriverio, inscripti Th. Graswinckelio equiti, Lugduni-Batavorum; apud Franciscos Hegerum et Hackium; 1638 [Brit. Mus. No. 238. l. 1].

[2] See note 2, p. 11 *supra*.

Pervigilium Veneris;[1] at pp. 199–200 a reprint entitled *Ianus Dousa F.: ipso fine notarum in Triumviros Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium*:[2] at pp. 201–12 a reprint entitled *Excerpta ex notis Iohannis Weitzii Tyrigetae ad Pervigilium Veneris*;[3] at pp. 425–6 is printed the text of the *Pervigilium*, transcribed from the *codex Salmasianus*; at pp. 427–36 are printed for the first time *Claudii Salmasii animadversiones in Pervigilium Veneris*, being his letter of the 17th February, 1637, to Schrijver; and finally at pp. 437–68 are printed, also for the first time, *Petri Scriverii animadversiones in Pervigilium Veneris.* This volume was, therefore, a compendium of all the most important editions of the poem published down to the year 1638.

From this time forward all students of the poem have been able to consult both extant codices and in part ix of this Introduction I have recorded in chronclogical order the numerous editions of, and treatises upon, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, which have been published, and of which copies are to be found in the library of the British Museum or in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

[1] See note 1, p. 12 *supra*. [2] See note 2, p. 12 *supra*.
[3] See note 1, p. 20 *supra*.

III. STROPHIC REARRANGEMENT OF THE POEM

For the scholar of to-day the text of the *Pervigilium Veneris* has been preserved in two MSS. only:

(1) S, the *Codex Salmasianus*, in the National Library at Paris, No. 10318.

(2) T, the *Codex Thuaneus* or *Pithoeanus*, in the National Library at Paris, No. 8071.

Both of these codices contain much matter in addition to the *Pervigilium*, which is written in the former on pages 108–12, and in the latter on folio 52 sqq. I have, therefore, for convenience of reference, supplied facsimiles of those sheets in both MSS. on which the poem is inscribed. The *Codex Salmasianus*, which is the better of the two, belongs to the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth, century A. D., while the *Codex Thuaneus* dates from the end of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth, century A. D. But the collation which I have made of the passages containing the *Pervigilium* in both codices shows differences so wide that I feel certain the copyist of T did not have access to S.[1] For example, in line 2 both S and T contain a portion of the correct reading, though neither is correct in itself, and in many other passages (e. g. lines 9, 15, 22, 26, 46, 52, 73)[2] variant readings in S and T, being obvious blunders, point to a correct reading in the archetype different from that in either of the extant MSS. On the other hand, S and T agree in many undoubted mistakes (e. g. lines 13,

[1] 'Iam vero ut antiquior, sic etiam quod ad lectionem ipsam pertinet longe praestantior est Salmasianus, ita tamen, ut nonnulla necessario e Pithoeano corrigi debeant. Tanta est autem inter utrumque discrepantia, ut manifesto ex diversis exemplaribus sint descripti.' Orelli (1831).

[2] References are to the lines as numbered in the MSS.: see the collation of the codices S and T in Part xii *infra*.

16, 19, 23, 29, 35, 42, 50, 81, 90), and especially in misplacing line 58, which is meaningless in the position assigned to it by the MSS. Such agreement and divergence can best be explained by the hypothesis that S and T are copied from the same original, X, which has since been lost, and which was by no means a faultless MS., since it presumably contained many, if not all, the mistakes which are common to S and T, and certainly misplaced line 58. Beyond X, at a distance of how many degrees it is impossible to say, was the archetype, the probable date of which is separately discussed in Part VIII of this Introduction.

Turning now to study the structure of the poem as a whole, the first task is necessarily to ascertain the correct position of the lines which have been misplaced ; and, as there can be little doubt that the Leipzig edition of 1852 is right in transposing line 58 to follow line 39, the structure of the *Pervigilium Veneris* becomes that adopted in S. G. Owen's edition (1893), the poem being divided by the refrain into irregular groups of 6, 3, 14, 8, 12, 8, 9, 6, 4, and 12 lines.

But two critical difficulties of a serious nature remain. The first is *tunc* in line 9. *Tunc*, where it stands in the MSS., must, under the ordinary laws of interpretation of language, refer to the emphatic and reiterated *cras* which immediately precedes. It cannot, however, do so, as nonsense would result; and I am unable to agree with Owen, who sees no awkwardness in referring *tunc* back to *ver* in line 2. No doubt the poet's mind was full of spring, but that can scarcely have induced him to conceal his meaning by dislocation of adverbs.

Even more difficult is *ipsa* in line 63. Interpreted with regard to the context, in which this line is placed by the MSS., *ipsa* must refer to *almae coniugis* in line 61, i.e. to Earth. Nevertheless, the following lines show plainly enough that the reference is, as a fact, to Venus and not to Tellus.[1] Either, therefore, the author of the

[1] 'Mais à quoi se rapporte cet *ipsa*? Ce ne peut être à la Terre. Car c'est elle

poem is guilty of a serious abuse of language, or else there is some mistake in the MSS.

But apart from these difficulties of interpretation, there is the general objection that, in a short poem of less than a hundred lines, the author has, for no apparent reason, postponed till line 59 his explanation of why the day, whose dawning must end the Vigil, will be so high a festival; and, when at last the explanation comes, it is inserted in a place to which it is not appropriate, and follows immediately after line 58, which had been previously omitted by clerical inadvertence, and stands wrongly at the head of a stanza.

Many of these objections disappear with the adoption of the remedy suggested by O. Müller, viz. the insertion of lines 59–62 between lines 8 and 9 of the MSS.[1] The explanation that the morrow's festival

qui est gouvernée; c'est à dire, rendue féconde par la douce influence des pluies. Elle est le principe passif; et c'est l'actif dont le Poëte décrit ici les effets. On voit bien qu'il veut parler de Vénus, qui n'a pourtant pas encore été nommée. Il est donc évident qu'il y a ici quelque chose de transposé.' Bouhier (1737).

[1] G. H. Heidtmann (1842) first pointed out that *tunc* in line 9 is a stumbling-block, and proposed that lines 9–11 should be transposed to follow line 62. The anonymous Leipzig editor (1852) agreed and wrote: 'Versus illos, qui ex vulgato ordine post v. 7 praemisso intercalari leguntur: *Tunc cruore—Caerulas inter—Fecit undantem*—alieno loco positos esse, ipsa satis arguit sententia viditque Heidtmannus; eadem etiam monebat, ubi interserendi essent, eo scilicet loco, quem idem Heidtmannus ostendit, ubi Aetheris cum Tellure nuptiae celebrantur, post v. 62 vulgatae editionis, nobis post v. 58; ubi particula *tunc* illud tempus indicatur, quo in connubio divino maritus imber in sinum almae conjugis defluxit.' Otto Müller (1855) went a step further by transposing lines 59–62 to follow line 8, and then placing lines 9–11 immediately after line 62. Lucian Müller (1861) agrees and says: 'Allerdings bin ich auch der Meinung, dasz vor v. 9 der gewöhnlichen Überlieferung mit Otto Müller einzuschalten sind 59–62, da *tunc* in jenem Verse, wenn man es gleich auf den *versus intercalaris* folgen läszt, durchaus nichts hat worauf es sich beziehen könnte, während 59–62 an besagter Stelle eingeschaltet recht wohl stimmen, und die Kühnheit der Umstellung in diesem Falle nicht eine so sehr grosze ist, da auch v. 58 offenbar nicht an seinem

commemorates the marriage of Earth and Aether will then open the second stanza of the poem; while the reference in the word *tunc* will also be to that primeval wedding of the world wherefrom Venus herself was begotten.

O. Müller went no further than this: but in my opinion a necessary corollary to his emendation was the transfer by F. Bücheler of lines 63–8 to follow line 11 in the MSS. It is in any case impossible to permit line 63 to follow line 57, for the transition would be unintelligible. Moreover, I hope to prove that the structure of the poem confirms this transposition. I do not, however, agree with Bücheler's transposition of lines 69–80 in the MS. to follow line 21 in the new arrangement.

If the rearrangement suggested in the last two paragraphs is adopted, the framework of the *Pervigilium Veneris* will consist in groups of 6, 12, 12, 8, 12, 8, 6, 4, and 12 lines, divided by the refrain, and the outline of a choric structure, such as we should naturally expect in a poem of this kind, becomes apparent. It only remains to carry the analysis one step further, and the work of reconstruction is complete.

It is evident that the last four lines of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, in which the poet speaks in his own person, are disconnected from the remainder of the poem, to which they form an epode. It has, therefore, occurred to me that the final group of twelve lines should be divided into two parts of eight and four lines respectively, or in other words, that the refrain should be inserted after line 88 in the MSS., where it has a special poetical significance as the burden of the Swallow's song.

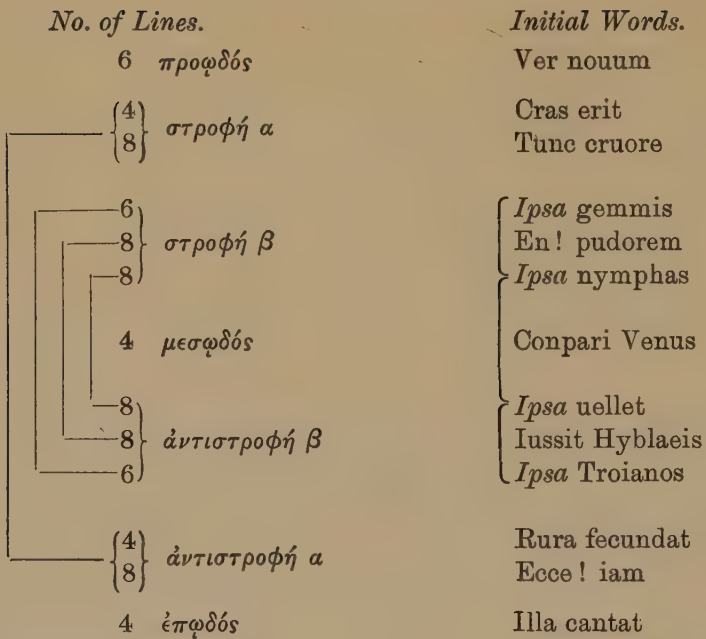
> Et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro :—
> *Cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet!*

Platze steht.' J. Mähly (1865) and K. Schenkl (1867) concur in the above opinion. Meanwhile F. Bücheler (1859) had gone further by transposing lines 63–8 to follow line 11 in its new position.

The line was evidently omitted by clerical error, when the original structure of the poem had been concealed by mistakes in the MSS. Similarly, I am of opinion that the refrain has been lost between lines 11–13, 27–9, and 50–2 in the new arrangement.[1] (*a*) The pause in meaning points to line 11 (62) as closing a stanza; while the fact that line 13 (9) stands at the commencement of a stanza in S and T suggests that it probably did so in the original poem. The refrain was lost when lines 8–11 (59–62) had been omitted and misplaced after line 50 (58) in the MSS. (*b*) It is less easy to account for the omission of the refrain between lines 27–9; but I am inclined to think that the close sequence of thought in lines 24–32, and the parallelism of the couplets which begin respectively *En! micant lacrimae* and *En! pudorem florulentae*, may have led a copyist, who was unaware of the choric arrangement of the poem, to omit the refrain in this place as impeding the flow of ideas. There is, however, a distinct aptness in the refrain just here; for, as the dew-drops 'check awhile their headlong fate' and are not wed to the virgin-roses till *to-morrow*, so it will not be till *to-morrow* that love will come to the loveless and the love-lorn. (*c*) Finally, the refrain after line 50 must have been lost at the time when line 50 itself was inadvertently misplaced so as to become line 58 in S T; and the fact that at this place there was a lacuna or some confusion in the MS., from which T was copied, is clearly indicated by the fact that line 52 (40) is entirely omitted in that Codex.

If we now sum up the results obtained, it will appear that the *Pervigilium Veneris* is not a poem divided by the refrain into irregular groups of lines, but consists of προῳδός, στροφή, μεσῳδός, ἀντιστροφή, and ἐπῳδός, balanced with a precision as classically Greek as is its prosody; thus:—

[1] References are to the numbering in my rearrangement: see text.



I would also note, in confirmation of this rearrangement, that the repetition of the word *Ipsa* at the head of alternate stanzas in *στροφή β* and *ἀντιστροφή β* can hardly be accidental: and, in support of my conjecture, I will finally add that in the *Codex Salmasianus* the following words are prefixed to the poem: *Incipit Pervigilium Veneris trocaico metro. Sunt vero versus XXII.*

Cras amet qui numquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.

Now, in the first place, the *Pervigilium* consists in S of ninety-three lines and in T of ninety-two lines; and in the next place, as has been pointed out by Schrijver (Scriverius) and Bücheler, the poem probably

begins with the words, *Ver novum*, &c., the insertion of the refrain at the commencement being due to a clerical error. I entirely agree with Bücheler, when he writes: *Meum in hoc cum Scriverio iudicium congruit ut primum versum scriptum a poeta esse negem, qui, si praeposuisset illum, magnam ineuntis carminis vim atque impetum satis insipienter debilitasset.* And this conjecture gains strength from the fact, already referred to[1], that in the MS. of the poem, which Manuzio showed to Erasmus on some date in, or shortly preceding, the year 1508, but which has since been lost, the opening line of the poem was apparently not the refrain, as in S and T, but the line *Ver novum*, &c. I, therefore, adopt the suggestion made (but not accepted) by Bücheler of changing *XXII* to *XIII*: [2] for (*a*) according to my rearrangement the refrain is repeated thirteen times in the poem, and (*b*) the interpolation of the refrain at the commencement of the poem will be accounted for by the note prefixed in the *Codex Salmasianus*, which I translate: 'Here begins the *Vigil of Venus* in trochaic metre. It contains thirteen verses—*Cras amet*, &c.', i. e. the verse *Cras amet*, &c., is repeated thirteen times in the poem. Subsequently no doubt, by a copyist's mistake, the words *Cras amet*, &c., were detached from the note prefixed in the MS., and were placed at the head of the poem itself; the note then was misunderstood and miswritten, as owing to clerical errors the correct arrangement of the stanzas had been obscured. I may add that the corruption of the refrain, as written at the head of the poem in S T, lends further colour to the suggestion that the refrain did not stand at the commencement of the text proper, but formed part of a carelessly written note prefixed by a copyist to the poem.

[1] See p. 8 *supra*.

[2] 'Verum ne altera quidem haec suspitio veritatis omni specie destituitur, ut intercalarem versum poeta quotiens repetiverit vetustiorem librarium illo significasse numero coniciamus. Quod si ita est, XXII facili negotio in XIII correxeris.' Bücheler (1859).

Other emendations, which have been proposed for this note in the *Codex Salmasianus*, are:—

(*a*) that of Schrijver, who changes *XXII* to *XCII*, and translates: 'There are ninety-two lines in the poem'. But in S there are ninety-three lines;

(*b*) that of Bücheler, who supposes a lacuna after the words *Sunt vero versus XXII . . .*, and tentatively suggests that the copyist's original note explained that twenty-two verses, viz. lines 59–80 in the MS., had been misplaced and should be transposed to follow line 8 in the MS. This seems very far-fetched, and presupposes of course the correctness of Bücheler's rearrangement of the *Pervigilium*.

It remains to offer a conjecture as to the genesis of the corruption in S T on the assumption that the archetype A contained the text as I have rearranged it. The first error was presumably the omission of lines 7–11, because the clerk's eye caught the wrong *cras* at the commencement of the line. This error led to the final loss of line 7 (the refrain), which was amalgamated with line 12. The MS. which contained this mistake may conveniently be called B, and it is probable that the writer of B also omitted line 50, but noticed the latter omission when he reached line 69 and at once rectified it by inserting the line at this place, perhaps adding a mark to indicate its proper position. Then, being prompted by the discovery of his mistake to re-read what he had written, he also observed the omission of lines 8–11 and inserted them to follow his other omission, probably again with a mark to show their correct position.

The MS. B was in its turn copied by the writer of another MS., which may be called C, who faithfully reproduced the errors of B and their rectification, but himself committed a similar oversight in omitting lines 16–21, his eye being misled by the recurrence of *Ipsa* at the commencement of lines 16 and 22. However, on reaching the place where the rectification of omissions in B had been made, the writer

of C was compelled to re-read what he had written, and, discovering his own slip, he followed the example of B by inserting his previous omission after the other corrections.

So in MS. C the structure of the poem was completely hidden, and ordinary carelessness will account for the omission of the refrain after lines 27, 50, and 89. We should thus obtain the MS. X, from which the two extant codices S and T were copied.

This deductive explanation of the origin of the text as we possess it is, of course, entirely conjectural, and, unless some other MSS. of the *Pervigilium Veneris* are discovered, it is insusceptible of direct proof or disproof. It may, however, serve a useful purpose, as the complement of my inductive argument, by showing that this reconstruction of the poem is no capricious effort of imagination, but closely observes the laws of textual criticism.

IV. PARAPHRASE OF THE POEM AS REARRANGED

The choric arrangement, above indicated, is well borne out in the theme of the poem itself. Thus the prelude announces that spring has come, and with it the burden of that 'to-morrow', to which the Vigil is consecrated, and in which is the keynote of the poet's despairing prophecy. To-morrow will be Dione's festival. To-morrow love dawns for the loveless and the love-lorn.

The first strophe then explains that to-morrow will be the anniversary of that primeval wedding-day, when from the union of the Earth and Aether all things were created: the day when Dione, the foam-born goddess, was fashioned by Ocean to teach the ways of child-birth to the whole wide world.

The second strophe sets out the means by which Dione identifies herself with the spring festival. It is she who paints the vernal season with gay flowers: she swells the rose-buds, and overnight rains on them the dew, that will to-morrow open their virgin-blossoms into full bloom, emblem of those unwary maidens, whom on the morrow Love will betray. For Love is gone a-maying down the myrtle groves with Dione's handmaids, and, though it is Love's holiday, he is best accoutred when unarmed.

In the mesode, which forms the centre of the poem, is stated the object with which Dione has sent her maidens into the myrtle grove. They are to entreat Diana, guardian-goddess of the forests, to stay her hand from slaughter in the chase, so that Dione's worshippers may enjoy to the full the flowers and shadows of the greenwood.

The antistrophe, which corresponds with the second strophe, tells how during the three nights' festival throngs of worshippers, decked with garlands, and led by Ceres, Bacchus, and Apollo, wander merrily under the sylvan shade, or rest among myrtle-trellised arbours. Diana has

abdicated, and Dione rules the love-sessions, high-throned at Hybla, with the Graces at her side, and with nymphs of mountain, grove, and river as assessors. Such worship is her due, for she is, above all, patron-goddess of the Roman Empire: she gave Lavinia to her son Aeneas: she betrayed Rhea Silvia to Mars: and by her the Sabine and Roman races were united.

The antistrophe corresponding with the first strophe dwells on further attributes of Dione, which entitle her to worship. She makes fertile the fields, she is mother of Amor, and reigns as the vernal principle of love in the pasture-lands among herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. She also is queen of the birds of the air and of the lake.

Finally, the poet, speaking now in his own person, interprets the lyrical sadness, which has tinged all his thought. The birds of the air and the beasts of the field may be glad, the glebe-land thrill at Dione's touch, all things may rejoice in the fresh, melodious spring-time; but for the Roman poet no spring will return, no to-morrow will ever dawn. His Muse has been lost by silence, the latest Roman song has been sung: the God of Poetry has turned himself away from a nation that too long neglected him. And yet, at the last, the refrain comes hauntingly back, with a sigh that is half a scoff, prophesying the dawn of love for the loveless and love's triumph for the love-lorn.

V. COMPARISON OF FIVE ATTEMPTS AT STROPHIC REARRANGEMENT OF THE POEM

Mine is the fifth attempt which has been made to find strophic correspondence in the *Pervigilium Veneris*. The first was that of F. C.

Clementi.

[1 Refrain]
2–7 6
8 Refrain —
59–62 4
⟨Refrain⟩
9–11, 63–67 8
68 Refrain
13–18 6
⟨Refrain⟩
19–26 8
27 Refrain
28–35 8
36 Refrain
37–39, 58 4
⟨Refrain⟩
40–47 8
48 Refrain
49–56 8
57 Refrain
69–74 6
75 Refrain
76–79 4
80 Refrain
81–88 8
⟨Refrain⟩ —
89–92 4
93 Refrain

Göbbel.

1 Refrain
2–7 6
8 Refrain
13–17, 19, 18 7
⟨Refrain⟩
20–21, 23–24, 22, 25–26 7
27 Refrain
28, 31, 29–30, 32–35 8
36 Refrain
37–39, 58, 40–47 12
48 Refrain
49–56 8
57 Refrain
59–62, 9–11, 63–67 12
68 Refrain
69–74 6
75 Refrain —
76–79 4
80 Refrain
81–88 8
⟨Refrain⟩
89–92 4
93 Refrain

Bücheler.

1 Refrain
2–7 6
8 Refrain
59–61, [62], 9–11 6
12 Refrain
63–67 5
68 Refrain
69–71, [72], 73–74 5
75 Refrain
76–79 4
80 Refrain
13–16 4
⟨Refrain⟩
17–21 5
⟨Refrain⟩
22–26 5
27 Refrain —
28–35 8
36 Refrain
37–39, 58, 40–47 12
48 Refrain
49–56 8
57 Refrain
81–92 12
93 Refrain

Göbbel in 1858, the second that of F. Bücheler in 1859, the third that of T. Bergk [1] in October of the same year, and the fourth that of J. W. Mackail in 1888.[2] The following is a summarized comparison of these five rearrangements, the lines being numbered throughout as in the Codex Salmasianus:

Bergk.		*Mackail.*	
1 Refrain		1–4	4
2–7	6	⟨Refrain⟩	
8 Refrain	—	5, 6, lacuna, 7	3 + 1 = 4
lacuna, 9–11	3 + (?) 8 = 11	8 Refrain	
12 Refrain		59, 9–11	4
lacuna, 58–67	10 + (?) 1 = 11	12 Refrain	
68 Refrain		13–16	4
69–73, lacuna, 74	6 + (?) 1 = 7	⟨Refrain⟩	
75 Refrain		17, 18, 20, 21	4
76–79, lacuna	4 + (?) 3 = 7	⟨Refrain⟩	
80 Refrain		19, lacuna, 22	2 + 2 = 4
13–26	14	⟨Refrain⟩	
27 Refrain		23–26	4
37, lacuna, 38–47	11 + (?) 3 = 14	27 Refrain	
48 Refrain		28–31	4
49–56	8	⟨Refrain⟩	
57 Refrain		32–35	4
28–35	8	36 Refrain	
36 Refrain	—	37–39, 58	4
81–92	12	⟨Refrain⟩	
93 Refrain		40–43	4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		44–47	4
		48 Refrain	
		49–52	4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		53–56	4
		57 Refrain	
		60–62, lacuna	3 + 1 = 4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		63–64, 69, 72	4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		66, 65, lacuna, 67	3 + 1 = 4
		68 Refrain	
		70–71, 73–74	4
		75 Refrain	
		76–79	4
		80 Refrain	
		81–84	4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		85–88	4
		⟨Refrain⟩	
		89–92	4
		93 Refrain	

[1] Bergk's work is known to me only through the criticism of it by Lucian Müller in 1861; the work itself appears not to have been issued to the book trade.

[2] For Mackail's work on the *Pervigilium*, see bibliography under the years 1888, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912.

A glance will show that the rearrangements by Göbbel, Bergk, and Bücheler are far less symmetrical than mine, and that the simplest strophic system is the one proposed by Professor Mackail, who shapes the poem into twenty-two stanzas of four lines each. Transposition has been forced on all five editors by the impossibility of explaining *tunc* in line 9. Moreover, four editors (Mackail being the exception) agree that it is not possible to allow lines 63 sqq. to stand in the place assigned to them by the codices, the difficulty of explaining *ipsa* in line 63 being otherwise insurmountable. Göbbel, Bücheler, and I agree in grouping together lines 59–62, 9–11, and 63–7; but Göbbel places them as his seventh stanza, whereas in Bücheler's rearrangement and mine they occupy the second and third stanzas. Finally four editors (Bergk being this time the exception) transpose line 58 to follow line 39, and Bergk himself avoids transposition only by supposing a lacuna before line 58.

My rearrangement only postulates transposition in these three places, and the insertion of the refrain four times. I think, therefore, I may fairly claim that it is not only symmetrical in form and in thought, but also that it resorts to transposition only where the sequence of lines in the MSS. is unintelligible. I may add that I stumbled quite accidentally upon my strophic reconstruction, when, as the result of much study, I was satisfied that the best place for lines 59–62 was after line 8, for lines 63–7 after line 11, and for line 58 after line 39. Having written out the poem in this order, I suddenly saw in it the outline of strophic and antistrophic correspondence and realized that the insertion of the refrain four times (after lines 18, 58, 62, and 88) would complete the design. It should be noticed that both Göbbel and Mackail agree with me in inserting the refrain after line 88; Mackail also inserts it (as I have done) after lines 58 and 62, and Göbbel after line 18.

With regard to the other four strophic rearrangements, of which Mackail's is the most interesting, I would only remark that :—

(*a*) Göbbel, in order to obtain second and third stanzas of 7 lines each, is obliged to invert the order of lines 18 and 19. No other editor has done this and such transposition is not required by the meaning. Göbbel inserts the refrain twice and makes several minor transpositions which are not dependent on his strophic rearrangement; but the main objection to his scheme is that the strophic correspondence achieved is very confused and unsymmetrical.

(*b*) Bergk supposes five lacunae of 16 lines in all, makes numerous transpositions which are not forced upon him by difficulties of interpretation, and even so produces a poem of most ungainly structure.

(*c*) Bücheler, without sufficient reason, rejects two lines (62 and 72) and transposes unnecessarily the whole passage 63–80 to precede line 13. He inserts the refrain twice (after lines 16 and 21) in places where it seems to be inappropriate. The resulting structure is not very symmetrical, though less disjointed than the rearrangements by Göbbel and Bergk.

(*d*) The corner-stone of Professor Mackail's rearrangement appears to be his interpretation of the words—*Incipit Pervigilium Veneris trocaico metro. Sunt vero versvs XXII*—which are prefixed to the poem in the *Codex Salmasianus*. Professor Mackail adopts the view that *versus* should be translated 'stanzas'. He, therefore, concludes that the poem must originally have consisted of twenty-two stanzas; and, by himself composing five new lines to fill supposed *lacunae*, by transposing six lines and by inserting the refrain conjecturally in twelve places, where the MSS. do not contain it, he has actually produced a poem of twenty-two stanzas, containing four lines each, every stanza being followed by the refrain. But the objections are, of course, in the first place the necessity for those alterations in the MSS. which are not essential except upon the twenty-two stanza hypothesis, and in the second place the interpretation of *versus*[1] in the non-classical sense

[1] *versus* in Latin prosody means only 'a line' and cannot mean 'a stanza', the

of 'stanza', a difficulty which I have endeavoured to surmount by the method explained on page 31 *supra*. This method is not, however, open to Professor Mackail, who retains the refrain as the first line of the poem.

As regards the six transpositions, viz. lines 19, 58, 59, 65, 69, 72,[1] line 19 is transposed by Professor Mackail to follow the refrain, which he has inserted conjecturally after line 21, and it is succeeded by a *lacuna* of two lines. The stanzas in question then read as follows:

17 Emicant lacrimae trementes de caduco pondere;
18 Gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos;
20 Umor ille quem serenis astra rorant noctibus
21 Mane virgines papillas solvit umenti peplo.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
19 En pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae
Et rosarum flamma nodis emicat tepentibus.
22 Ipsa iussit *diva vestem de papillis solvere,*
Ut recenti mane nudae virgines nubant rosae.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
24 Facta Cypridis de cruore, &c.

I am unable to see any necessity for these very drastic alterations except in 'the twenty-two stanza theory', which in this passage demands the transposition of one line, the invention of an entirely new line to follow line 19, the expansion of line 22 into two separate lines, and the conjectural insertion of the refrain twice. I submit, however, that the sequence of the lines in S T gives a very good sense, that no

word for which is *metrum*, which facts can be discovered from Victorinus i. 14, iv. 3, and Diomedes iii. 35.

[1] References are throughout to lines as numbered in the *Codex Salmasianus*, and lines which fill *lacunae* are printed in italics.

alteration is necessary, and that the conjectural insertion of the refrain once between lines 18 and 19, as is done in my text, is a much simpler remedy than that proposed by Professor Mackail.

Professor Mackail follows, as I do, the Leipzig edition in transposing line 58 to succeed line 39 in ST, and his text also agrees with mine in supposing that the refrain has been lost in the MSS. after line 58 in its new position.

Line 59 is inserted by Professor Mackail between lines 8 and 9 in the MSS. In this my text agrees with his; but I have gone further and followed Müller in transposing lines 59–62 bodily to follow line 8 in ST, whereas Professor Mackail transposes one line only, and emends line 9 to read:

Tunc liquore de superno spumeo et ponti globo.

I conclude, therefore, that Professor Mackail agrees with what I have said (p. 26) as to the interpretation of *tunc*.

In Professor Mackail's text line 65 has been transposed to follow line 66, a *lacuna* has then been supposed before line 67, line 69 has been transposed to follow line 64 and line 72 to follow line 69 in its new position, line 62 has been expanded into two lines, and the refrain has been conjecturally inserted twice. The four stanzas in question then read:

67 Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
60 Ut pater totum crearet veris annum nubibus
61 In sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
62 Unde fetus *perque pontum perque caelum pergeret*
Perque terras mixtus omnes alere magno corpore.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
63 Ipsa venas atque mentem permeanti spiritu
64 Intus occultis gubernat procreatrix viribus,

69 Ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit:
72 Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias.
Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
66 Pervium sui tenorem seminali tramite
65 Perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum
Ipsa duxit, ipsa venis procreantem spiritum
67 Inbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi vias.
68 Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
70 Ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit,
71 Moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem,
73 Unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
74 Romulum patrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.
75 Cras amet qui nunquam amavit quique amavit cras amet.
76 Rura fecundat voluptas, &c.

These remedies are very drastic and the following appear to be grave objections to the suggested rearrangement: (*a*) lines 60–2 are exceedingly awkward after lines 53–6, the transition of thought being unpleasantly abrupt; (*b*) the divorce between line 59 and lines 60–2 seems most unfortunate; (*c*) the scansional difficulty with regard to *aleret* in line 62 is hardly sufficient to warrant the supposition that a line has been lost; (*d*) the transition of thought from lines 63–4 to lines 69–72, occurring as *ex hypothesi* it does within the same stanza, is very violent; (*e*) the divorce between lines 69–72 and lines 70–4 is again unfortunate, for these historical references are closely connected and one would expect them to form part of the same or at least of contiguous stanzas; (*f*) the transition of thought from lines 69–72 to lines 66–65 is very abrupt; (*g*) the separation of lines 63–4 from lines 66–65 is, I venture to think, injurious to their meaning; (*h*) the transposition of line 65 to follow line 66 and the invention of a new line to follow line 65, so transposed, appear to be justified only by the exigencies of 'the twenty-two stanza theory' and the transposition is merely

the necessary consequence of the unnecessary, and even objectionable, insertion of lines 69–72 and the refrain between lines 64 and 65. In my opinion, therefore, at this point 'the twenty-two stanza theory' completely breaks down.

Of the five lines composed by Professor Mackail to fill supposed *lacunae* I have already dealt with the two which follow line 19, the one which follows line 61, and the one which follows line 65. There only remains the one interpolated between 6 and 7—

Cras canoris feriatos ducit in silvis choros,

which is clearly a concession to 'the twenty-two stanza theory'. No previous editor, so far as I am aware, has imagined a *lacuna* in this place, nor is any corruption indicated by the MSS., which give a perfectly good sense.

The conjectural insertion of the refrain after lines 21, 22, 58, 62, and 72 has already been noted. Professor Mackail inserts it also after lines 4, 16, 31, 43, 52, 84, and 88. My text agrees with his in introducing the refrain after lines 58, 62, and 88, and I have endeavoured (pp. 28–9 *supra*) to justify these interpolations on various grounds; but the remaining cases can, I think, be vindicated only by 'the twenty-two stanza theory'; and, in my opinion, Professor Mackail's rearrangement based on that theory, apart from the arbitrary changes which it necessitates in the MSS., mars rather than mends the sequence of ideas in the *Pervigilium*. I may add that it is difficult to understand how an arrangement in short 4-line stanzas, divided by the refrain, could have been so hopelessly obliterated that only one such stanza is preserved by the MSS. The strikingly symmetrical character of the structure would (I am inclined to think) have forced itself upon the attention of copyists and thereby have caused its preservation. I, therefore, prefer the comparatively mild remedies which I have applied to the Codices, viz.: the transposition of two passages and the conjectural insertion of the refrain four times.

VI. TABULAR NOTE ON OTHER NON-STROPHICAL REARRANGEMENTS OF THE POEM

For the sake of completeness I add a note in tabular form on eleven other editions of the *Pervigilium* which, although they do not rearrange the poem strophically, yet postulate certain transpositions of its lines.

Rivinus.		*Sanadon.*		*J. Bouhier.*		*F. Noel.*		*G. H. Heidtmann.*	
[1 Refrain]		1 Refrain		A. *Pervigilium Primum*		1 Refrain		1 Refrain	
2–4	3	2–7	6	1 Refrain		2–7	6	2–7	6
⟨Refrain⟩		8 Refrain		58–62	5	8 Refrain		8 Refrain	
5–7	3	9–11	3	⟨Refrain⟩		9–11	3	13–26	14
8 Refrain		12 Refrain		76–79	4	12 Refrain		27 Refrain	
9–11	3	13–16, [17–21], 22–23, [24–26]	6	80 Refrain		13–18, 20–21	8	28–35	8
12 Refrain		27 Refrain		63–67	5	⟨Refrain⟩		36 Refrain	
23–24, 13	3	28–35	8	68 Refrain		22–26, 19	6	37–47	11
⟨Refrain⟩		36 Refrain		69–74	6	27 Refrain		48 Refrain	
14–16	3	37–47	11	75 Refrain		28–35	8	49–56	8
⟨Refrain⟩		48 Refrain		B. *Pervigilium Secundum*		36 Refrain		57 Refrain	
17–18, 58	3	49–56	8	⟨Refrain⟩		37–44	8	lacuna, 58–62, 9–11, 63–7	13(?)
⟨Refrain⟩		57 Refrain		2–4, 9–11	6	⟨Refrain⟩		68 Refrain	
19–21	3	58–67	10	8 Refrain		45–47	3	69–74	6
⟨Refrain⟩		68 Refrain		5–7, 13, 22, 14–18, 20–21, 25–26	14	48 Refrain		75 Refrain	
22, 25–26	3	69–74	6	27 Refrain		49–56	8	76–79	4
27 Refrain		75 Refrain		19, 23–24	3	57 Refrain		80 Refrain	
28–31	4	76–79	4	⟨Refrain⟩		58–67	10	81–92	12
⟨Refrain⟩		80 Refrain		28–35	8	68 Refrain		93 Refrain	
32–35	4	81–92	12	36 Refrain		69–74	6		
36 Refrain		93 Refrain		37–47	11	75 Refrain			
37–39, [40], 41	4			48 Refrain		76–79	4		
⟨Refrain⟩		10 stanzas : 85 lines in all.		49–56	8	80 Refrain			
42–44	3			57 Refrain		82, 81, 83, 85, 84, 86–92	12		
⟨Refrain⟩				81, 83, 82, 85, 84, 86–90, [91–92]	10	93 Refrain			
45–47	3			93 Refrain					
48 Refrain									
49, 51–2	3	72–74	3						
⟨Refrain⟩		75 Refrain							
50, 53–56	5	76–79	4						
57 Refrain		80 Refrain							
59–62	4	82, 81, 83	3						
⟨Refrain⟩		⟨Refrain⟩							
63–67	5	84–88	5						
68 Refrain		⟨Refrain⟩							
69–71	3	89–92	4						
⟨Refrain⟩		93 Refrain							
23 stanzas : 104 lines in all.				Part I: 4 stanzas: 25 lines in all. Part II : 7 stanzas : 68 lines in all.		12 stanzas : 95 lines in all.		9 stanzas : 92 (?) lines in all.	
								Refrain line excised.	12

The editions selected are those of A. Rivinus in 1644, N. E. Sanadon in 1728, J. Bouhier in 1737, F. Noel in 1803, G. H. Heidtmann in 1842,[1] the anonymous Leipzig edition of 1852, O. Müller in 1855, A. Riese in 1869, E. Bährens in 1882, G. Piazza in 1889, and S. G. Owen in 1893.

Leipzig edition of 1852.	*O. Müller.*	*A. Riese.*	*E. Bährens.*	*G. Piazza*	*S. G. Owen.*
1 Refrain	1 Refrain	1 Refrain	1 Refrain	[1 Refrain]	1 Refrain
2–7 6	2–7 6	2–4, 58, 5–7 7	2–7 6	2–7 6	2–7 6
8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain	8 Refrain
13–17, 19, 18, 20–21, 23–24, 22, 25–26 } 14	59–62, 9–11 7	13–16, 18, 17, 19–26 } 14	28, 31–33, 29–30, 34–35 } 8	59–61, [62], 9–11 } 6	9–11 3
27 Refrain	12 Refrain	27 Refrain	36 Refrain	12 Refrain	12 Refrain
28, 31, 29–30, 32–35, 56 } 9	13–26 14	28, 31, 29, 30, 32–35 } 8	37–47 11	63–67 5	13–26 14
36 Refrain	27 Refrain	36 Refrain	48 Refrain	68 Refrain	27 Refrain
37–39, 58, 40–47 } 12	28–35 8	lacuna, 37–47 } 12(?)	49–56 8	69–74 6	28–35 8
48 Refrain	36 Refrain	48 Refrain	57 Refrain	75 Refrain	36 Refrain
49–55 7	37–39, 58, 40–47 } 12	49–56 8	58, lacuna, 59–62, 9–11 } 9 (?)	76–79 4	37–39, 58, 40–47 } 12
57 Refrain	48 Refrain	57 Refrain	12 Refrain	80 Refrain	48 Refrain
59–62, 9–11, 63–67 } 12	49–56 8	59–62, 9–11 7	13–26 14	13–21 9	49–56 8
68 Refrain	57 Refrain	12 Refrain	27 Refrain	⟨Refrain⟩	57 Refrain
69–74 6	63–67 5	63–67 5	63–67 5	22–26 5	59–67 9
75 Refrain	68 Refrain	68 Refrain	68 Refrain	27 Refrain	68 Refrain
76–79 4	69–74 6	69–71, 74, 73 (2nd half), 72, 73 (1st half) } 7	69–70, 73–74, 71–72 } 6	28–35 8	69–70, 73–74, 71–72 } 6
80 Refrain	75 Refrain	75 Refrain	75 Refrain	36 Refrain	75 Refrain
81–92 12	76–79 4	76–79 4	76–79 4	37–39, 58, 40–47 } 12	76–79 4
93 Refrain	80 Refrain	80 Refrain	80 Refrain	48 Refrain	80 Refrain
	81–92 12	81–83, 84–92 } 13(?)	81–83, 85, 84, 86–92 } 12	49–56 8	81–92 12
	93 Refrain	93 Refrain	93 Refrain	57 Refrain	93 Refrain
				81–92 12	
				93 Refrain	
9 stanzas : 92 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 93 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 96 (?) lines in all.	10 stanzas : 94 (?) lines in all.	11 stanzas : 92 lines in all.	10 stanzas : 93 lines in all.
Refrain line 12 excised.					

[1] Heidtmann says of the Pervigilium : 'Inter amoebaea carmina referendum esse censeo, utpote quod partim ab hac, partim ab illa caterva cantatum sit.'

There could be no better illustration of the difficulty of the problems presented by the *Pervigilium Veneris* than the diversity of suggested rearrangements shown in the above table, varying from that of S. G. Owen, who contents himself with transposing line 58 and altering the order of lines in the eighth stanza, to the attempt of J. Bouhier to divide the poem into two separate parts, composed as he thinks at different epochs. Detailed comment on each of the conjectured reconstructions of the *Pervigilium* is not, I think, required.

VII. THE TRINOCTIUM OF VENUS

Although the *Pervigilium Veneris* purports to have been written in early spring on the eve of a three nights' festival in honour of Dione, it is impossible to glean from the poem itself a definite statement concerning the date of this festival. Nevertheless, any one who will attentively read through the opening lines (1–162) of the fourth book of Ovid's *Fasti* must, I think, be led to conclude that reference is made to the *Festum Veneris Verticordiae et Virilis Fortunae*, celebrated by the Romans during the first three days of April.

The fourth book of the *Fasti* begins with an invocation of Venus, to whom April, the fourth month of the year, is sacred, and to whose descendant, Caesar Augustus, this month is, therefore, of special significance. Ovid then proceeds to trace (19–60) the pedigree of the house of Caesar from the Trojan royal family, through Aeneas, son of Venus and husband of Lavinia, as far as Rhea Silvia, by whom Mars became father of Romulus and Remus. Next follow (61–132) two derivations of the word 'April': (*a*) from the Greek *ἀφρός*, because the month is sacred to *Ἀφροδίτη*;[1] (*b*) from the verb *aperire* (Aprilis = Aperilis), because in the month of April buds unfold and the earth's womb is opened. Ovid decides in favour of the former derivation, and this leads him to compose a hymn (91–132) in praise of Venus and her power. She rules the universe, and imposes her laws on heaven, earth, and ocean. She created all the gods: she is the author of harvests: she taught men wedlock, and reigns over birds, beasts, and fishes. Civilization is her work, and from her is drawn the inspiration of poetry. The spring-time is especially suited to her worship; and it is fitting that

[1] Cf. Macrobius, Sat. i. 12. 8 'Secundem mensem nominavit Aprilem, ut quidam putant cum adspiratione quasi *Aphrilem*, a spuma quam Graeci *ἀφρόν* vocant, unde orta Venus creditur.'

her month should follow that sacred to her lover Mars. Ovid, then, briefly describes (133–62) the ceremonies connected with the festival of Venus Verticordia and Virilis Fortuna, i.e. of Venus who turns away the heart from evil lusts (*Ἀποστροφία*),[1] and of the deity that gives women good fortune among men. This feast is appropriately celebrated by Roman matrons and maidens, who then bathe beneath the myrtle trees sacred to Venus, and drink aphrodisiacs made of poppy[2] ground with milk, such as Venus herself drank on her wedding day. Ovid concludes with the prayer that Venus may always be propitious to the Romans.

The coincidences between this passage in the *Fasti* and the contents of the *Pervigilium Veneris* are so remarkable that I believe the author of the latter poem drew consciously on Ovid for his material: and in my explanatory notes I have endeavoured to work out the parallel in greater detail. Here it is only necessary to note that the original Italian goddess, Venus, apparently representing beauty and growth in nature, and especially in gardens,[3] was in historical times entirely absorbed by the Greek *Ἀφροδίτη*, whose worship was carefully encouraged by C. Julius Caesar, in view of the fact that the *gens Julia* traced a legendary descent from Iulus, who was son of Aeneas and, therefore, grandson of Aphrodite and Anchises,[4] and by whom Alba Longa was founded. Owing to the interest evinced by Caesar and his successors in the cult of Venus, her *trinoctium*, which was probably in origin a popular festival, became (as Mackail says) under the Empire

[1] Cf. Pausanias ix. 16. 4 *ἔθετο δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἡ Ἁρμονία, τὴν μὲν Οὐρανίαν ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένῳ πόθου σωμάτων, Πάνδημον δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, τρίτα δὲ Ἀποστροφίαν, ἵνα ἐπιθυμίας τε ἀνόμου καὶ ἔργων ἀνοσίων ἀποστρέφῃ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

[2] This passage (Ovid, F. iv. 151) must arrest the attention of those interested in the opium question.

[3] See note on line 77.

[4] See notes on lines 71–5.

an organized observance in the established State religion.[1] For political reasons, Caesar always made the most of his divine ancestry, and he built a temple to Venus Genetrix in the Roman forum. Subsequently the Emperor Hadrian introduced additional splendour into the worship of Venus by constructing, in accordance with a design of his own, the magnificent 'temple of Venus and Rome', the largest in that city. This temple was partially completed in A. D. 135, and the work of construction was probably finished by Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138–161). A portion of it was destroyed by fire in the reign of Maxentius (A. D. 306–312), who began its restoration, which was carried on by Constantine (A. D. 312–337). Thus we see that Venus worship was still prevalent in the fourth century of our era.

Night-long vigils (*παννυχίδες*) had formed part of the ritual of Greek religion; and we hear of such festivals in honour of Cybele [2] and of Bendis, the Thracian Artemis.[3] Aristophanes informs us that these vigils were much frequented by girls and women.[4] In Italy we learn from Livy [5] that in 215 B. C. a *trinoctium* was celebrated at Hamae, a place in Campania; while Plautus, who died in 184 B. C., founds the plot of his *Aulularia* upon misconduct occurring during a night-vigil in honour of Ceres.[6] Cicero denounced such *nocturna sacra* on account of their licentiousness, and proposed to enact *nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunto*.[7] But *pervigilia* became common under the Empire,

[1] See note on line 54.

[2] Euripides, *Hel.* 1365 *παννυχίδες θεᾶς*: Herodotus iv. 76 *παννυχίδα στήσειν*.

[3] Plato, *Rep.* 328 A, *παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν*.

[4] *Ranae* 445: *ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ταῖσιν κόραις εἶμι καὶ γυναιξίν,*
οὗ παννυχίζουσιν θεῷ.

[5] Livy xxiii. 35. 15 triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas. Nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante mediam noctem compleretur . . . Gracchus . . . castra Campana ut in pervigilio neglecta . . . invadit.

[6] See note on line 53 and cf. Plautus, *Curc.* i. 3. 25 quid? tu Veneri pervigilare te voluisti, Phaedrome?

[7] Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 9.

and are mentioned by Suetonius in his lives of Caligula (A.D. 37–41),[1] of Galba (A.D. 68–69),[2] and of Vitellius (A.D. 69).[3] Petronius speaks of a *pervigilium Priapi genio*;[4] and Tacitus, writing of the year A.D. 64, notes that married women attended religious *pervigilia*,[5] while elsewhere he uses the word almost as a synonym for debauchery.[6]

The scene of the *Pervigilium Veneris* is certainly laid in Sicily, and probably at the town of Hybla Gereatis, the modern Paterno.[7] Therefore, in view of the summons to the Nymphs to attend Venus at the festival,[8] it is interesting to observe that Athenaeus mentions a Sicilian custom of worshipping the Nymphs by a *pervigilium*.[9] But the last stanza of the poem clearly shows that Mackail is right in regarding it as 'a motive of fantasy, a summons which evokes imaginative associations, and sets the rhythm of poetry in movement round nature and history, love and life. Nothing could be less like either a folk-song or an official ode'.

[1] Suetonius, *Calig.* 54.

[2] Suetonius, *Galb.* 4.

[3] Suetonius, *Vitel.* 10.

[4] Petronius, S. 21 etiam dormire vobis in mente est, cum sciatis Priapi genio pervigilium deberi?

[5] Tacitus, A. xv. 44 sellisternia ac pervigilia celebravere feminae quibus mariti erant.

[6] Tacitus, H. ii. 68 omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora.

[7] See note on line 61.

[8] See note on lines 65–66.

[9] Athenaeus, 250 A *ἔθους ὄντος κατὰ Σικελίαν θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ταῖς Νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα παννυχίζειν μεθυσκομένους ὀρχεῖσθαί τε περὶ τὰς θεάς.*

VIII. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE POEM

Almost as numerous and diverse as the proposed rearrangements of the text of the *Pervigilium Veneris* have been the attempts to designate its date and authorship. A summary of the principal suggestions made will not perhaps be without interest, and they may conveniently be grouped under five headings, namely, (i) those professing to find a clue to the authorship in the MSS.; (ii) those which find traces of the date of the poem in the subject-matter of certain passages in its text; and those which would date the poem either (iii) from apparent imitations in other writers, or lastly from internal evidence afforded by (iv) its prosody, or (v) its language and style.

(i) Evidence of the MSS. The *Codex Salmasianus* cannot be dated later than the eighth century, A. D. This fact of itself negatives the suggestion, made by Cabaret-Dupaty, that the *Pervigilium Veneris* was a production of the sixteenth century.[1] But beyond this the MSS. really give little help. The heading in S *incipit per Uirgilium Ueneris* and the note appended in T *explicit per Uirgilium Ueneris* are obvious blunders by ignorant copyists, who may have thought that Virgil was the author, but whose opinions on such a point are entirely worthless.[2] Manuzio and Erasmus had apparently seen a MS. (since

[1] 'Ne pourrait-on pas soupçonner, à bon droit, qu'à une époque où les imitations du style des anciens étaient fort à la mode (ainsi que le prouvent toutes les pièces grecques qui furent attribuées à Linus, à Orphée et à Homère), Alde Manuce ou Pierre Pithou se soient amusés à lancer dans le public, pour jouir de la crédulité des simples et de l'embarras des savants, un ingénieux pastiche de quelque auteur du III^e^ ou du IV^e^ siècle? . . . Du reste, je me donne cette conjecture que comme un doute, et le doute est permis dans une question qui sera longtemps encore agitée sans être jamais résolue.' Cabaret-Dupaty (1842).

[2] 'Aus den unzähligen, horrenden corruptelen beider hss. erhellt ja nur zu deutlich welch unwissende menschen ihre schreiber waren.' Bährens (1872).

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lost) in which the *Pervigilium* was ascribed to a Catullus, whom they believed to be Caius Valerius Catullus Veronensis, whereas Scaliger tentatively suggested that Catullus Urbicarius Mimographus[1] was meant. The former lived from 87 to 54 B.C., and the latter should probably be assigned to the period A.D. 37–68. Erasmus, however, seems to have doubted whether his MS. was correct in ascribing the poem to Catullus; and indeed the style of the *Pervigilium*, which plainly does not belong to the classical period, precludes a date in the first century either before or after Christ. This fact is fatal also to the suggestion made by Von Barth that Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who lived A.D. 37–65, wrote the *Pervigilium*; and I have endeavoured to show how Von Barth may have misread the inscription in the (now non-extant) *Codex Martispurgica.* Gustav Sarpe in 1819 suggested that the Seneca in question was, not L. Annaeus Seneca, but a certain Thomas Seneca Camers, who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.[2] But this conjecture, like that of Cabaret-Dupaty, is negatived by the fact that the *Codex Salmasianus* cannot be dated later than the eighth century, A.D. More recently, in 1855, Otto Müller endeavoured to prove that Publius Annius Florus, who lived in the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), wrote the *Pervigilium* as well

[1] Juvenal viii. 186 *clamosum ageres ut phasma Catulli*; Juvenal xiii. 111 *urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli*; Martial v. 30. 3 *facundi scena Catulli*; Tertull. adv. Valentin. 14 *nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata.* See Teuffel and Schwabe, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, § 285, 1.

[2] Sarpe (see p. 74 *infra* under the year 1819) writes: 'Illud autem procerum carmen: *cras amet, qui numquam amavit*, cet., cuius fragmentum codex Martisburgensis adscribit Senecae (vid. Barth. ad Claudian. p. 147 ed. pr. et adverss. xvi. 6 et xliv. 7) referendum erit, exceptis tamen primis versibus, numero xxii, ad Thomam Senecam Camertem. Quem virum seculo p. Chr. xv ineunte vixisse, egregie demonstrat, quo ornamentum in hac academia litterae nostrae nunquam viderunt praestantius, Immanuel G. Huschkius in praef. ad Tibull. p. 15.—De isto pervigilio Veneris ita sentienti non irascentur Manes Buherii et Sanadonis.'

as the lines headed *Flori* (T has *Floridi*) *de qualitate vitae*, which are contained in ST; and, arguing on somewhat similar lines, Schrijver had suggested that Luxorius, a poet who lived in Africa under the Vandal king Thrasimund (A. D. 496–523), and whose writings are contained in ST, was probably the author of the *Pervigilium*. But these arguments derive such force as they possess from a comparison of the language and style of the poems in question and not from the mere fact that the poems are contained in the same two MSS.

(ii) Evidence of Subject-matter. Attempts to designate the date and authorship of the poem have been based upon two passages, namely, line 90 *quando fiam uti chelidon ut tacere desinam*, and line 74, where both MSS. read *Romoli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem*.

(*a*) Wernsdorf (1782) has drawn attention to an epitaph, included by Gruter in his *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 1114, n. 3, which reads as follows:

L. VIBIVS. AVG. LIB. FLORVS. FECIT.
VIBIAE. CHELIDONI. CONIVGI. SVAE.
CARISSIMAE. B. M. ET. SIBI. &c.

From this inscription he argues that the *Pervigilium* was written by Vibius Florus in collaboration with his wife Vibia Chelidon, and that in line 90 of the poem Vibius pays a compliment to his wife at his own expense—'When shall I be as talkative as my wife?'! But apart from this outrage on taste, nothing is known of any poet called Vibius Florus.

(*b*) Three theories as to the date of the poem have been based on line 74; the first two involve amendment of the text, and the third does not.

α. Joest Lips (1580) proposed to read:

proque prole posterum
Romoli, *patrem* crearet et nepotem Caesarem;

and he commented: 'Sententia non dubie in gratiam Augusti,' referring the words *pater Caesar* to C. Julius Caesar and *nepos Caesar* to Augustus. He then attributed the work to the end of the reign of Augustus. But, in the first place, the style of the poem precludes so early a date; and, in the second place, it by no means follows that a poem, in which such passing mention is made of Julius Caesar and Augustus, must have been composed during the lifetime of the latter.

β. Karl Schenkl (1867) conjectured that the line should read: '*Caesaris* matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem'; and he suggests that the reference is to the emperor Gordianus III, and to his mother, who was the daughter of Gordianus I. On his father's side the first Gordian (M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronius Africanus) was descended from the Gracchi; on his mother's side from the emperor Trajan; while his wife was the great-granddaughter of Antoninus Pius. In A. D. 237 he was proconsul in Africa, whither his son (M. Antonius Gordianus) had accompanied him; and in that year the universal discontent roused by the oppressive rule of Maximin culminated in a revolt in Africa, and the two Gordians, yielding to the popular clamour, assumed the purple as joint emperors. The senate at Rome confirmed the choice of the Africans, and most of the provinces gladly sided with the new emperors. But, after a reign of only thirty-six days, both the Gordians were slain, the father by his own hand, and the son in battle with Cappellianus, legatus of Numidia and a supporter of Maximin; (July 3, A. D. 237). Having embraced the cause of the Gordians, the senate was obliged to continue the revolt against Maximin, and appointed Pupienus Maximus and Caelius Balbinus, two of its noblest and most esteemed members, as joint emperors. At their inauguration a sedition arose, and the popular outcry for a Gordian was appeased by the association with them of M. Antonius Gordianus Pius, grandson of the elder, and nephew of the younger, Gordian, then a boy of

thirteen. Maximin invaded Italy, but was murdered, in April, A. D. 238, by his own troops while besieging Aquileia; and a revolt of the praetorian guards, to which Maximus and Balbinus fell victims (July 15, A. D. 238), left young Gordian sole emperor. Immediately after his accession, the boy fell under the influence of his mother's eunuchs: and it is, therefore, Schenkl argues, not improbable that a Latin poet, writing in March, A. D. 239, should make special mention of the 'mother of Caesar' (i. e. the daughter of the first and mother of the third Gordian) as well as of the 'grandson Caesar' (i. e. Gordian III, the grandson of Gordian I).

γ. An anonymous German scholar, writing in 1872 over the initials 'G.F.', proposes to retain line 74 unaltered, and refers the words *Romoli matrem* to the mother of Romulus Augustulus and the words *nepotem Caesarem* to the emperor Julius Nepos. In that case the date of the poem would be March, A. D. 476. Julius Nepos, the nephew of Marcellinus of Dalmatia, had at the end of A. D. 473 been appointed Emperor of the West by Leo, the Eastern Emperor. For the first year of his reign Nepos was left undisturbed; but, in A. D. 475, there appeared as his enemy Orestes of Pannonia, who had served Attila as secretary, and had on his master's death come to Italy. There he married a daughter of Romulus, an Italian of the rank of *comes*, who had served under Aëtius as ambassador to the Huns, and he had a successful career in the imperial service. He had risen high enough by the year A. D. 475 to be created *magister militiae* by Nepos; and in virtue both of his official position and of a natural sympathy, which his previous career must have inspired, he became the leader of the barbarian party. Once at the head of his army, he instantly marched upon Rome. Nepos, powerless before his adversary, fled to Ravenna, and unable to maintain himself there, escaped at the end of August, A. D. 475, to his native Dalmatia, where he survived as an emperor in exile until he was assassinated by his followers in A. D. 480. At the

end of October, Orestes proclaimed as emperor his son, a boy named Romulus after his maternal grandfather, and surnamed (perhaps only in derision, and after his fall in August, A. D. 476) Augustulus. Julius Nepos, although in exile, was still regarded by the Byzantine Court as lawful Emperor of the West; and 'G. F.' argues 'bezeichnend für eine zeit, wo der weströmische thron binnen 22 jahren von 9 kaisern besetzt war, trägt der dichter beiden parteien rechnung. Dasz die Veneralia damals wirklich gefeiert worden seien, ist wohl nicht anzunehmen: bestanden auch damals noch heidnische gebräuche, wie zb. die erst 20 jahre später von pabst Gelasius abgeschafften Lupercalia, so spricht doch schon der umstand, dasz der dichter ein solches fest gar nicht erwähnt, sondern die feier als eine in ausschlieszlich göttlichem kreise vor sich gehende darstellt, für die annahme einer poetischen fiction, wie ja auch der gleichzeitige Sidonius Apollinaris die heidnische mythologie zur verzierung seiner gedichte benutzte. Dasz das *Pervigilium* wenigstens keine festode war, sondern rein subjectiver gefühlsausdruck, geht aus den schluszversen deutlich hervor.' This is a most ingenious conjecture, for it assigns a good meaning to lines 71–5 as they stand in the MSS. Otherwise the sequence of thought in that passage is very confused, and some emendation of the text is unavoidable.

In May, 1905, L. Raquettius, an Italian scholar, to whom apparently the conjecture of 'G.F.' was unknown, maintained the same opinion that the reference in line 74 of the *Pervigilium* was to Romulus Augustulus and to Julius Nepos. As, however, Raquettius accepted Sanadon's emendation of *postera* for *posterum*, and also substituted *patrem* for *matrem*, as proposed by Lips, he rewrote lines 73–4 thus—

> unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole postera
> Romoli patrem crearet et Nepotem Caesarem—

identifying *Romoli patrem* with Orestes, and dating the poem on the

last day of March, A. D. 476. Not content with this, he went further and confidently asserted that Sidonius Apollinaris (*obiit* A. D. 488) was the author of the *Pervigilium*. But his arguments on this point are fanciful and unconvincing. They are based, first of all, on a supposed resemblance between the style of the *Pervigilium* and that of the poems and epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris; and, secondly, upon two *annominationes* namely (*a*) *rosa* for *Roscia*, the name of the daughter of Sidonius, and (*b*) *alites* for Alethius, his son-in-law.

But, as J. B. Bury (1905) observes, 'the phrases *nubunt alites* and *canoras alites* would suggest, if they suggested anything of the kind, an allusion to the bride', while there is a double difference in quantity (Ălēthius: ālītes): and, 'if we were in search of *annominationes*, it would be more plausible to discover a play on the bride's name in the dews of verses 11–16 (Roscia: roscida)'. Bury, moreover, remarks that 'Romulus Augustulus was not recognized as successor of Julius Nepos, except in Italy. Julius Nepos was throughout acknowledged by the Emperor Zeno as the legitimate Augustus'. Accordingly Bury has little doubt that the Caesar referred to in this passage 'is either the original Augustus or the original Julius': and he considers that the extant poems of Sidonius Apollinaris 'do not intimate that he was, at any period of his life, susceptible of the poetical inspiration which distinguishes the *Pervigilium Veneris*, at once so fresh and so artificial'.

(iii) Imitations in other Writers. In 1606, Wouwer pointed out that lines 19–20 of the *Pervigilium*, which read:

> En! pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae.
> Humor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus,
> Mane, &c.,

are very similar to a passage in Fulgentius (Mitologiarum I. 11; St., p. 605):

Ubi guttas florulentae
Mane rorat purpurae
Umor algens, quem serenis
Astra sudant noctibus.

Fabius Planciades Fulgentius lived in Africa about A. D. 480–550; and it is evident that either he copied from the author of the *Pervigilium*, or the latter from the former, or both from some third source. The last supposition is highly improbable; and, even if we agree with 'G.F.' in assigning to the *Pervigilium* so late a date as A. D. 476, it is clear that Fulgentius is the imitator. This piece of evidence, therefore, enables us to conclude with some confidence that the poem must be earlier in date than the last two decades of the fifth century A. D.

Other palpable similarities with previous authors are, first, the imitation in lines 59–62 of Virgil's *Georgics* ii. 324 sqq.; next, the close parallel of the whole poem with Ovid's *Fasti* iv. 1–162, to which I have drawn attention in pp. 47–8 *supra*; and finally the resemblance between line 13 of the *Pervigilium*:—

Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum floridis:

and Appuleius, Met. x. 29 (Oudendorp, p. 734): 'Plane tenui specula solabor clades ultimas, quod uer in ipso ortu iam gemmulis floridis cuncta depingeret et iam purpureo nitore prata uestiret et commodum dirruptos pineo tegmine spirantes cinnameos odores promicarent rosae, quae me priori meo Lucio redderent.' L. Appuleius of Madaura in Africa lived in the times of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 138–80); but no definite conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned similarities between the *Pervigilium* and other works, whether classical or non-classical.

(iv) Evidence of Prosody. The metre in which the *Pervigilium Veneris* was written is known as the trochaic septenarius or trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and is as old as Archilochus (*c.* 688 B. C.). It was

freely used by the Greek tragic and comic poets, from whom it was adapted with considerable licence by Plautus and Terence. The *Pervigilium*, however, copies the Greek rather than the early Roman model, and the scheme of its metre is as follows:[1]

1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
– ∪	– ∪	– ∪	– ∪	– ∪	– ∪	– ∪	⏑
	– –	∪ ∪ ∪	– –	– – (?)	– –		
	– ∪ ∪			∪ ∪ – (?)	– ∪ ∪		
	∪ ∪ –				∪ ∪ –		
					∪ ∪ ∪		

The only divergence from Greek prosody is in the 5th foot, where, according to the MSS., a spondee is admitted twice (lines 9 and 93) and an anapaest twice (lines 11 and 67). The spondees may be removed by comparatively easy emendations, namely, *uernus* for *uernis* in line 9, and *Apollo* for *Phoebus* in line 93: but the other two passages cannot be so dealt with, unless we are prepared to adopt drastic remedies, such as the complete omission by Bücheler of line 11 as a gloss, and the substitution in line 67 of *mater alitis dei* for *pueri mater alitis*, the reading of ST. It seems safer to suggest that, at the period when the poem was written, the final syllable of anapaests was tending, under the influence of the popular accent, to be shortened; and, if so, the anapaests in lines 33 and 77 may also be regarded as metrically equivalent to tribrachs, though, as they occur in the 2nd and 6th feet

[1] Examples in the *Pervigilium* may be tabulated thus:

41.	ītĕ	nўmphāē	pŏsŭĭt	ārmă	fĕrĭ	ātŭs	ēst Ă	mŏr
58.	dētĭn	ēndă	nōctĕ	tōta ēst	pērvĭg	ĭlĭă †	cāntĭ	cīs
26.	ēn mĭ	cānt lăcrĭ	māē trĕm	ēntēs	dē căd	ūcō	pōndĕ	rĕ
33.	fāctă	Păphĭēs*	dē crŭ	ōrĕ	dēque Ă	mōrĭs	ōscŭ	līs
14.	caērŭ	lās īnt	ēr căt	ērvās	īntĕr	ēt bĭpĕd	ēs ĕ	quōs
77.	rūră	fēcūn	dāt vŏl	ūptās	rūră	Vĕnĕrēm	sēntĭ	ŭnt

* My conjecture. † Conjecture of S. G. Owen.

respectively, it is not strictly necessary to consider them as such. Similarly, *Romulēas* in line 73 (if a false quantity) would be an example of the lax observance of the laws of scansion, which is characteristic of the transition from late Latin to medieval Italian.

(v) Evidence of Language and Style. Claude de Saumaise believed, for reasons of style and diction, that the poem was written in the time of C. Julius Solinus, i. e. between A.D. 253–305. Bouhier, who (as has been seen) divides the *Pervigilium* into two separate poems, says of his *Pervigilium Primum*: 'On reconnoît en ces vers, ce me semble, cette élégante et majestueuse simplicité, qui fait le caractère du Siècle des premiers Césars, et qui me fait croire que ce pourroit bien être une production de leurs tems.' Of his *Pervigilium Secundum* he says: 'La seule chose qu'on puisse assurer, c'est que ce petit Poëme est fort postérieur au premier. S'il falloit prendre parti entre les différens sentimens sur son Auteur, je pencherois assez à croire que c'est le Poëte Florus, qui vivoit du tems de l'Empereur Hadrian.' Bouhier claims for his conjectural division of the *Pervigilium* into two poems the support of 'le R. P. Fr. Oudin, en sa Dissert. sur le *Culex* de Virgile, insérée en la continuation des Mém. de Littérature, Tom. VII. p. 312'; but I have not been able to verify this reference.

An approximation to Italian Latinity may perhaps be seen in the tendency towards discarding the case-inflexions of classical Latin by the use of *de* in the sense of the Italian *di* (see note on line 3), as well as in the employment of *mane* (line 32) in the sense of 'to-morrow', Italian *domani*; while it is possible that in more than one place *totus* corresponds to the Italian *tutti* in the sense of 'all' (see note on line 9), and *perviglanda* (see note on line 58) seems to foreshadow the Italian *vegliare*. But these indications are too vague to be of much critical value in so short a poem. On the other hand, Bernhardy's conjecture that the poem was translated from a Greek original, in support of which may be quoted the use of the Greek words *θρόνῳ* (line 6), *πέπλῳ*

(line 31), μουσικῷ (line 88), and χελιδών (line 92), is entirely disposed of by the obvious imitations of Virgil in lines 8–11, of Ovid in the general theme of the *Pervigilium*, and of Calpurnius Siculus in line 82. These writers flourished between 50 B.C. and A.D. 55: but the possibility of a date in the first century A.D. is decisively negatived by the linguistic peculiarities which characterize the poem: for example, the use of post-classical words, such as *copulatrix* (line 4), *seminali* (line 19), *purpurantem* (line 22), *congreges* (line 55), *coniugali* (line 83); the phrase *florulentae purpurae* (line 29); the personal use of *pudeo* (line 36); the use of *uel* as the equivalent of *et* (line 65), and the method of using *quidquid* in line 63. It is more plausible to point to the imitations of Appuleius in lines 22 and 32, and possibly of Florus in the 4th and 5th stanzas, and to infer that the *Pervigilium* was composed towards the end of the second century, A.D. Five hexameters DE ROSIS are attributed by the MSS. to a certain Florus, whom the copyists also note as author of twenty-six trochaic tetrameters *De Qualitate Vitae*, containing reflections on human life. This Florus[1] may quite credibly be identified with P. Annius Florus, who seems to have been born in Africa, and to have lived at Rome in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) when, as we have seen, great encouragement was given to the worship of Venus Genetrix. Indeed, O. Müller (1855) argues that P. Annius Florus was the author of the *Pervigilium*: while Heidtmann (1842) has conjectured that the poem was written by Appuleius (*c.* A.D. 160), and Walter Pater dates it a little later in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180). The poem has a certain resemblance in style and spirit to the Eclogues of Nemesianus of Carthage (*c.* A.D. 285), and this led Bücheler (1859) to conclude that its chronological place was midway between Florus and Nemesianus. Bährens (1872) takes a more extreme view in ascribing the work to Tiberianus (*c.* A.D. 350) with whose few surviving fragments it shows a striking affinity in language,

[1] See Teuffel and Schwabe, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, § 348, 8.

versification, and a delicate feeling for nature. Orelli (1831) believes the *Pervigilium*, owing to the exuberance of its rhetoric, to be the production of an African poet of the third or fourth century A. D. Owen (1893) contents himself with saying that the poem 'was written under the Empire, and probably not early': while Mackail remarks that a date in the middle of the fourth century A. D. 'is now generally accepted'.

The comparatively pure diction and classical rhythm of the poem might be held to support the selection of a date nearer to the period of the Antonines, if not in the reign of Marcus Aurelius himself, were it possible to rely more confidently on such characteristics. But, without fresh evidence, it is impossible to determine the date or the authorship of the *Pervigilium*, and we must rest content with the certainty that its date is earlier than Fulgentius (*c.* A. D. 480–500), by whom it was imitated, and later than Appuleius (*c.* A. D. 160), whom its author imitated.

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE POEM AFTER THE YEAR 1638

The following is the record in chronological order of the numerous editions of, and treatises upon, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, copies of which I have been able to consult in libraries in England. I take up the list from the point where I stopped in Part II of this Introduction.

1644. Anonymi sed antiqui tamen poetae elegans et floridum Carmen de Vere, communiter Pervigilium Veneris inscriptum; quod pessime a librariis acceptum, post summos viros, Aldum, Des. Erasmum, L. Gyraldum, I. I. Scaligerum, P. Pithoeum, Lipsium, Lernutium, Dousam F., Barthium, Is. Pontanum, Wowerium, Weitzium, et novissime Salmasium atque Scriverium, &c. emaculare et notis illustrare, publiceque per aliquot horas vernas praelegendo, penitus restituere sategit Andr. Rivinus Hal. Saxo, Phil. et Med. D., C. P. Caes. et eiusdem artis Professor P. Collegii Principis Salariatus et Universitatis Lips. p.t. Praepositus Magnus: Lipsiae et Francofurti ad Moenum prostat apud Ioannem Pressium [Brit. Mus. No. 836. g. 34]. It is Rivinus in a note on line 90 of the *Pervigilium* who first mentions the conjecture *nec me Apollo respicit*, made by Thomasius, for *nec me Phoebus respicit*, the reading of both S and T. Rivinus says: 'Sic quidem malim, ut *Apollo* quintâ regione exstet, quam spondaeus cum *Phoebo*: cuius rei monitor nobis fuit politissimus et literatissimus iuvenis M. Iac. Thomasius.' This was apparently the only contribution made by Thomasius to the study of the *Pervigilium*.

1649: Europa: Cupid Crucified: Venus' Vigils: with annotations, by Tho. Stanley, Esq., London; printed by W. W. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard [Brit. Mus. No. 1067. k. 15 (2)]. This

book contains at pp. 36–47 Stanley's verse translation of the *Pervigilium* —the first in any modern language; at pp. 48–53 Stanley's notes on the *Pervigilium*; and at pp. 51–62 *Excerpta ex notis Lipsii, Pythoei, Dousae, Weitzii, Salmasii et Scriverii in Pervigilium Veneris.*

1651. Anacreon, Bion, Moschus. Kisses by Secundus. Cupid Crucified, by Ausonius. Venus' Vigils, incerto authore: printed in the year 1651 [Brit. Mus. No. 1076. $\frac{e.17}{2}$]. This book, printed without the name of the author or publisher, has been bound up as the second part of 'Poems by Thomas Stanley, Esquire: London, printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard; 1652. At pp. 73–8 is Stanley's translation of the *Pervigilium*, and at pp. 155–64 his 'Excitations and notes upon Venus' Vigils'.

1653. Les Poesies de Catulle de Verone: en Latin et en François, de la Traduction de M. D. M. [Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin]; à Paris, chez Guillaume de Luyne, au Palais, en la Gallerie des Merciers, sous la montée de la Cour des Aydes; avec privilege du Roy [Brit. Mus. No. 11355. aaa. 22]. At pp. 242–56 is the Latin text of the *Pervigilium*, taken from T, with a French prose translation; the refrain, however, is rendered into French verse in eleven different ways. At pp. 374–88 are 'Remarques sur le Pervigilium Veneris attribué à Catulle'.

1654. Titi Petroni, Equitis Romani, Satyricon; et diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, cum selectis variorum Commentariis; accedunt Pervigilium Veneris, Ausonii Cento Nuptialis, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, atque alia nonnulla, notis doctorum Virorum inlustrata, accurante Simone Abbes Gabbema: Traiecti ad Rhenum, Typis Gisb. à Zyli, et Theod. ab Ackersdyck [Brit. Mus. No. 1079. l. 10]. This book is in two parts. Part II is entitled 'Priapeia, sive diversorum Poëtarum in Priapum Lusus, illustrati Commentariis variorum; et Musaeo Simonis Abbes Gabbema' [Simon Abbes Gabbema], and contains at pp. 59–74

the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes from the editions of Lips, Pithou, Saumaise, Schrijver, and Weitz.

1666. Io. Ludov. Praschii [Johann Ludwig Prasch], senatoris Ratisbonensis, poematum libellus: accedit Pervigilium Veneris innominati poetae opus, emendatum et notis auctum: Noribergae, sumtibus Georgii Sigismundi Freysingeri, librarii Ratisbonensis, typis exaravit Wolfgangus Eberhardus Felseckerus [Brit. Mus. No. 2078. (3)].

1669. Titi Petronii Arbitri, equitis Romani, Satyricon, cum fragmento nuper Tragurii reperto: accedunt diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, Pervigilium Veneris, Ausonii cento nuptialis, Cupido crucifixus, Epistolae de Cleopatra, et alia nonnulla: omnia commentariis et notis doctorum virorum illustrata: concinnante Michaele Hadrianide; Amstelodami, typis Ioannis Blaev. [Brit. Mus. No. 160. k. 22]. The last section of this volume contains at pp. 75–87 the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes thereon, under the title 'Priapeia, sive diversorum Poëtarum in Priapum Lusus; cum integris Iosephi Scaligeri, Gasparis Scioppii, et Friderici Lindenbrogii, commentariis; aliorumque notis; accessit Pervigilium Veneris, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, et alia quae versa p. exhibet.'

1677. Titi Petronii Arbitri, equitis Romani, Satyricon; cui accedunt diversorum Poëtarum Lusus in Priapum, Errones Venerei, Pervigilium Veneris, Floridi de Qualitate vitae, Epigrammata Valerii Aeditui, Ausonii Cento Nuptialis, Cupido Cruci-Affixus, eiusdem Rosae, Priapismus, Epistolae de Cleopatra, cum Ecloga Tobiae Gutberleth; cum notis Bourdelotii [Jean Bourdelot, Bishop of Tricca] et glossario Petroniano; Parisiis, apud Claudium Audinet, viâ Amygdalinâ, sub signo Veritatis Regiae, prope Collegium Grassinaeum [Brit. Mus. No. 245. b. 16]. This book contains at pp. 322–30 the text of the *Pervigilium* with notes thereon.

1680. Catullus, Tibullus et Propertius cum integris commentariis

Iosephi Scaligeri, Achil. Statii, M. Ant. Mureti, Iani Dousae patris filiique, et aliorum, ex Musaeo Iohannis Georgii Graevii [Johann Georg Graeve, or Greffe; 1632–1703]; Traiecti ad Rhenum; ex officina Rudolphi a Zyll. [Brit. Mus. No. 160. n. 16, 17]. This book contains in vol. i at pp. 634–8 the text of the *Pervigilium* from T., and in vol. ii (*a*) at pp. 483–5 a reprint from the *Electa* of Joest Lips, I. 5 (see p. 11 *supra*), and (*b*) at pp. 593–4 a reprint of chapter 15 of 'Iani Dousae filii in librum Sext. Propertii coniectanea et notae' (see p. 12 *supra*). Graeve appears not to have known of codex S.

1685. C. Valerii Catulli opera, interpretatione et notis illustravit Philippus Silvius T.E.C.P., iussu Christianissimi Regis, in usum Delphini; Parisiis, ex typographia Frederici Leonard Regis, Serenissimi Delphini, et Cleri Gallicani Typographi, viâ Iacobaeâ; cum privilegio regis [Brit. Mus. No. 55. d. 8]. This is an edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by Philippus Silvius, whose real name appears to be Philippe Dubois, Canon of St. Étienne des Grez. In vol. ii at pp. 777–80 is a reprint of the text of the *Pervigilium* from S with notes thereon by Dubois.

1708. Albii Tibulli, equitis Romani, quae exstant, ad fidem veterum membranarum sedulo castigata: accedunt notae, cum Variar. Lectionum Libello, et terni Indices; quorum primus Omnes Voces Tibullianas complectitur; Amstelaedami, ex officina Wetsteniana [Brit. Mus. No. 833. h. 15]. At p. 221 of this book Jan van Broekhuyzen (Janus Broukhusius; 1649–1707), in a comment on Tibullus ii. 1. 62 *Molle gerit tergo lucida vellus ovis*, makes a scholarly and certain correction of line 81 of the *Pervigilium*, and, as his book is not readily procurable, I quote the passage in full: 'Est in Albiano versiculo mira concinnitas epithetorum: quam video placuisse inlustrissimo Huetio [Pierre Daniel Huet of Caen; 1630–1721] in illa nobili oda, ad virum incomparabilem Nicolaum Heinsium [Niklaas Heinsius; 1620–81] perscripta:—

Inde pastorum resonant cicutae,
Lucidum tergo gerit agna vellus,
Explicat longum latus inter altas
Vacca genestas.

Sed in eo vincitur, quod *agnae* nullum dederit adpositum. Sequentia ex Pervigilio sunt adumbrata, v. 81, *ecce iam super genistas explicant tauri latus*: itemque ex Calpurnio, Eclog. i. 5,

cernis ut, ecce, pater quas tradidit, Ornite, vaccae
molle sub hirsuta latus explicuere genista?

Longum autem *latus* Virgilio debetur Georg. iii. 54 *Tum longo nullus lateri modus.* Attendat iuventus liberalior, et condiscat imitandi rationem. Sed in Pervigilio (dicam obiter) mendum est. Nam quamvis genistae Maroni *humiles* dicantur, tamen eas incubitu suo haud facile premant boves. Sunt enim virgulto satis firmo ac lentissimo, ut docet Columella iv. 31. Magni poetae verba sunt Georg. ii. 434,

—salices, humilesque genestae,
Aut illae pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbras
Sufficiunt, sepemque satis, et pabula melli.

Salicibus vix esse minores colligas ex ipso huiusdem libri initio, ubi inter arbores connumerantur, v. 9,

—Arboribus varia est natura creandis.
Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae
Sponte sua veniunt, camposque et flumina late
Curva tenent: ut molle siler, lentaeque genestae,
Populus, et glauca canentia fronde salicta.

Hinc adducor, ut legendum arbitrer, *ecce iam subter genistas explicant tauri latus.* Certe iuvat non parum Calpurnius: nec repugnat lex carminis. Ipse quoque Huetius haud obscure favet.'

1712. Pervigilium Veneris ex editione Petri Pithoei, cum eius et Iusti Lipsii notis; itemque ex alio codice antiquo, cum notis Cl. Salmasii et Pet. Scriverii; accessit ad haec Andr. Rivini commentarius:

Hagae Comitum, apud Henricum Scheurleer [Brit. Mus. No. 1213. l. 17]. This edition is generally attributed to Jean le Clerc (Johannes Clericus; 1657–1736) and contains a reprint of the edition published by Rivinus in 1644. It is the most complete and fullest work on the *Pervigilium* up to that date.

1716. Menagiana ou les Bons Mots, et remarques critiques, historiques, morales et d'érudition, de M. Ménage [Gilles Ménage (Aegidius Menagius), 1613–92], recueillies par ses amis; à Amsterdam, chez Pierre de Coup, Libraire dans le Kalverstraat, à l'Enseigne de Ciceron; four volumes [Brit. Mus. Nos. 1088. a. 28, 29]. The first edition of the *Menagiana* was published in one volume only in 1693 [Brit. Mus. No. 12314. aa. 2]. The second enlarged edition in two volumes was published in 1694–5 [Brit. Mus. Nos. 1088. a. 26, 27]. The third, and further enlarged, edition was published in four volumes in 1716; and the preface to vol. iii says: 'Les deux nouveaux Volumes du *Menagiana* qu'on donne au Public, sont de l'illustre M. de la Monnoye.' The first two editions make no mention of the *Pervigilium*; but in the third edition see vol. iii, pp. 8–15, 81, and vol. iv, p. 310.

1722. Poems on Several Occasions: written by Dr. Thomas Parnell, late Archdeacon of Clogher: and published by Mr. Pope: London: printed for B. Lintot, at the *Cross-Keys*, between *Temple Gates* in *Fleet Street* [Brit. Mus. No. 993. k. 24]. This book contains at pp. 49–67 the Latin text and a translation into English verse.

Of uncertain date, but prior to 1728 is the work entitled: 'Pervigilium Veneris vulgo Catullo attributum, emendatum et notationibus illustratum ab illustrissimo Abbate de Longuerue' (Louis du Four de Longuerue). This book is known to me only through the reprint embodied at pp. 327–42 of the Sanadon edition of 1761 (*vide infra*). It is, however, referred to in the Sanadon edition of 1728.

1728. Traduction d'une ancienne himne sur les Fêtes de Vénus avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce: à Paris chez de la Roche,

Quai des Augustins, à l'Espérance ; Cavalier, rue S. Jacques, au Lys d'Or ; Robustel, rue S. Jacques, à l'Image S. Jean ; Huart l'aîné, rue S. Jacques, près la Fontaine S. Severin, à la Justice ; Chaubert, Quai des Augustins, à la Renommée et à la Prudence ; avec Privilege du Roy [Brit. Mus. No. 11386. $\frac{aa.5}{2}$]. This book contains a French prose translation by Noel Étienne Sanadon of Rouen, a Jesuit priest, and a very arbitrary rearrangement of the Latin text. It is bound at the back of a book entitled : Q. Horatii Flacci carmina ad suum ordinem ac nitorem revocata studio et operâ N. S. Sanadonis è S. J. ; Lutetiae Parisiorum, apud Alexim de la Roche, Gulielmum Cavelier, Claudium Robustel, Petrum-Michaelem Huart, Hugonem Danielem Chaubert, bibliopolas ; 1728 ; cum privilegio regis.

1737. Poème de Pétrone sur la Guerre Civile entre César et Pompée ; avec Deux Épîtres d'Ovide : le tout traduit en vers françois avec des remarques : et des conjectures sur le poème intitulé Pervigilium Veneris : à Amsterdam, chez François Changuion [Brit. Mus. No. 76. g. 6]. This book is the work of Jean Bouhier (1673–1746), president at Dijon. His conjectures on the *Pervigilium* cover pp. 165–200, and are remarkable for an attempt to divide the poem into two parts, one of which Bouhier believes to belong to the time of the early Caesars, while the other was (he thinks) composed in the reign of Hadrian. At pp. 201–56 of this book is a reprint of Sanadon's work of 1728 under the title : 'Traduction d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce, par le P. Sanadon.'

1738. Lettre de M. le Franc à M. l'abbé Desfontaines sur le Pervigilium Veneris : dated June, 1738. This letter is known to me only through the print of it embodied at pp. 343–52 of the Sanadon edition of 1761 (*vide infra*).

1761. Les poësies d'Horace traduites en français avec des remarques et des dissertations critiques par le R. P. Sanadon, de la Compagnie de Jésus : nouvelle édition, revue sur les corrections de l'auteur, rétablie

selon l'ordre ancien, et augmentée de quelques pièces: à Amsterdam et à Leipzic: chez Arkstée et Merkus: vol. vii [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. f. 11]. This book contains: (*a*) at pp. 185–262 'Traduction d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus, avec des remarques critiques sur la même pièce (*vide* the year 1728 *supra*): (*b*) at pp. 263–320 'Conjecture sur le même poëme par M. le Président Bouhier' (*vide* the year 1737 *supra*): (*c*) at pp. 321–6 'Remarques de M. de la Monnoye sur le Pervigilium Veneris' (*vide* the year 1716 *supra*): (*d*) at pp. 327–42 'Pervigilium Veneris vulgo Catullo attributum, emendatum et notationibus illustratum ab illustrissimo Abbate de Longuerue': and (*e*) at pp. 343–52 'Lettre de M. le Franc à M. l'abbé Desfontaines sur le Pervigilium Veneris', dated June, 1738.

1766. Collectio Pisaurensis omnium poematum, carminum, fragmentorum Latinorum, sive ad Christianos, sive ad Ethnicos, sive ad certos, sive ad incertos poetas, a prima Latinae linguae aetate ad sextum usque Christianum seculum et Longobardorum in Italiam adventum pertinens, ab omnium poetarum libris, collectionibus, lapidibus, codicibus exscripta: Pisauri, ex Amatina [Pasquale Amati] chalcographia: publica auctoritate: vol. iv [Brit. Mus. No. 653. d. 14]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. xxxv–xxxvi and text at pp. 225–6.

1766. Traduction en prose et en vers d'une ancienne hymne sur les fêtes de Vénus, intitulée Pervigilium Veneris: à Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez Barbou, libraire-imprimeur, rue et vis-à-vis la Grille des Mathurins [Brit. Mus. No. 11388. b. 50 (1)]. The book commences with a dedication to Madame la Comtesse d'Estaing, signed L. D. P.: then follows a preface, the Latin text, translations in French prose and verse, and a commentary. It is believed that the initials L. D. P. stand for Henri Simon Joseph Ansquer de Ponçol.

1772. De Vitis Philologorum nostra aetate clarissimorum volumen quartum et ultimum, auctore Theoph. Christoph. Harlesio [Gottlieb Christoph Harless] Culmbacensi; Bremae, impensis Georg. Ludovici

Foersteri [Brit. Mus. No. 617. d. 6]. At pp. 70–2 of this book is a short note on the commentaries written by Sanadon, Bouhier, and the Abbé Desfontaines on the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

1773. Anacréon, Sappho, Bion et Moschus, traduction nouvelle en prose, suivie de la Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus, et d'un choix de Piéces de différens Auteurs: par M. M*** C** [Julien Jacques Moutonnet-Clairfons]; à Paphos, et se trouve à Paris, chez le Boucher, libraire, Quai des Augustins, à la Prudence [Brit. Mus. No. 75. f. 14]. This book contains at pp. 233–44 a short preface followed by a translation of the *Pervigilium* into French prose, only the refrain being rendered in verse. Moutonnet-Clairfons follows Sanadon's edition.

1774. Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex, cum appendice; subiicitur Limon, seu Miscellaneorum liber: auctore Guilielmo Jones [Sir William Jones], A.M., Collegii Universitatis in Academia Oxoniensi et Societatum Regiorum Londinensis atque Hafniensis, Socio; Londini: e typographeo Richardsoniano; veneunt apud T. Cadell, in vico qui dicitur *The Strand* [Brit. Mus. No. 75. c. 1]. At pp. 267–77 of this book, in chapter xi headed *de Venustate*, Jones makes a comparison between a Turkish poem (author's name not given), which he translates into Latin verse in the *Pervigilium* metre, and the *Pervigilium Veneris* itself.

1778. Fables nouvelles, dédiées à Monseigneur Comte d'Artois, par M. de St. Marcel [Tardieu de Saint-Marcel], l'un de ses Gardes-du-Corps; à Londres; et se trouve à Paris, chez Monory, Libraire de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, vis-à-vis l'ancienne Comédie françoise [Brit. Mus. No. 637. h. 23]. At pp. 172–81 'Traduction en vers français du Pervigilium Veneris'.

1778. Gedichte von Gottfried August Bürger: Göttingen, gedruckt und in Kommission bei Johann Christian Dieterich [Brit. Mus. No, 11525. b. 12]. At pp. 1–17 'Die Nachtfeier der Venus: nach dem Lateinischen: im Frühjahr 1769'. A paraphrase in German verse.

1779. Almanach des Muses; à Paris, chez Delalain Libraire rue de

la Comédie Françoise [Brit. Mus. No. 242. b. 15]. At pp. 161–5 'Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus, imitation du Pervigilium Veneris'—a translation in French verse by M. le Chevalier de Langeac.

1782. Poetae Latini Minores: tomus tertius in quo satyrici minores, elegiae et lyrica variorum: curavit Io. Christianus Wernsdorf: Altenburgi: impensis Richteri [Brit. Mus. No. 160. k. 12]. At pp. 423–88 'Incerti auctoris, fortasse L. Annaei Flori, Carmen de Vere seu Pervigilium Veneris, e codice antiquo Cl. Salmasii et recensione Pet. Scriverii, denuo castigatum et perpetua annotatione illustratum': also at pp. 535–42 an 'ἐπίμετρον ad Pervigilium Veneris'.

1782. Idylles et Poëmes champêtres par M. Léonard [Nicolas Germain Léonard]; à la Haye, et se trouve à Paris, chez Desenne, Libraire, au Palais Royal, Passage de Richelieu [Brit. Mus. No. 11475. e. 1]. At pp. 120–4 'La Veillée de Vénus'—a paraphrase of the *Pervigilium* in French verse.

1783. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum Galli fragmentis et Pervigilio Veneris: praemittitur notitia literaria: studiis Societatis Bipontinae: editio accurata: Biponti ex typographia societatis. [Brit. Mus. No. 1002. i. 2]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. xxxvi–xxxvii and text at pp. 351–4.

1787. Œuvres de M. Léonard: quatrième édition: à Paris, chez Prault, imprimeur du Roi, quai des Augustins, à l'Immortalité; avec approbation et privilège du Roi [Brit. Mus. No. 11474. aaa. 3]. At vol. i, pp. 158–62, is a reprint of 'La Veillée de Vénus', much abridged from the 1782 edition.

1792. La Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus; traduite en prose et vers français, par M. Rabany-Beauregard, associé-correspondant des Philalethes de Lille et employé à la Bibliothèque du Roi: à Paris l'imprimerie de H. J. Jansen, Cloître Saint-Honoré [Brit. Mus. No. 11388. b. 50 (2)]. A preface, text of the *Pervigilium*, translation in French verse, and commentary. Bound at the back of the British

Museum copy are several MS. verse translations (*vide* the years 1798 and 1812 *infra*).

1794. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum Galli fragmentis et Pervigilio Veneris: praemittitur notitia literaria: studiis societatis Bipontinae: editio secunda: Biponti: ex typographia societatis [Brit. Mus. No. 160. f. 12]. Prefatory note on the *Pervigilium* at pp. 34–5 and text at pp. 307–10. See also the 1783 edition.

1798. 'Catullus translated in English verse': at pp. 188–207 an English verse translation of the *Pervigilium*. Known to me only through the MS. copy bound at the back of Rabany-Beauregard's edition in the British Museum (cf. the year 1792 *supra*).

1803. Traduction complète des Poésies de Catulle, suivie des Poésies de Gallus et de la Veillée des Fêtes de Vénus; avec des notes grammaticales, critiques, littéraires, historiques et mythologiques, les Parodies des Poëtes Latins modernes, et les meilleures Imitations des Poëtes Français: par François Noel, membre de l'Athénée de Lyon, et Auteur du Dictionnaire de la Fable: de l'imprimerie de Crapelet: à Paris: chez Leger, libraire, quai des Augustins N° 44; et chez Remont, libraire, même quai N° 41 [Brit. Mus. No. 77. a. 20]. Vol. i at pp. 279–99 and 323–66. The book contains at pp. 349–59 a translation of the *Pervigilium* into French verse, under the heading: 'La Veillée de Vénus: imitation libre du *Pervigilium Veneris*, faite en grande partie sur la traduction que Parnell a donnée de ce petit ouvrage en vers anglais' (*vide* the year 1722 *supra*).

1810. Les Martyrs, ou le Triomphe de la Religion Chrétienne; par F. R. de Chateaubriand [François René Vicomte de Chateaubriand: 1768–1848]; Troisième Edition, précédée d'un examen, avec des remarques sur chaque livre, et des fragmens du voyage de l'auteur en Grèce et à Jérusalem: Paris, le Normant, imprimeur-libraire: Lyon, Ballanche, père et fils, libraires [Brit. Mus. No. 1122. f. 17]. See vol. iii, pp. 92–4, i. e. Livre XVII 'Navigation de Cymodocée'—a prose

paraphrase of a portion of the *Pervigilium*. The first edition of *Les Martyrs* was published in 1809 in two volumes, but there is no copy of it at the British Museum.

1812. A translation of the *Pervigilium* into French Verse by Charles Louis Mollevaut. Known to me only through the MS. copy bound at the back of Rabany-Beauregard's edition in the British Museum [cf. the year 1792 *supra*).

1819. Nomina virorum eruditione ac meritis excellentium quos inter quarta academiae secularia summis in philosophia ornamentis ac privilegiis honoris causa augebit ordo philosophorum Rostochiensis indicantur a Gustavo Sarpe, philosophiae doctore, artium liberalium magistro, Graecae litteraturae professore, publico ordinario, H. T. Ordinis philos. decano: praemissae sunt quaestiones philologicae: Rostochii litteris Adlerianis [Bodleian Diss. N. 130]. At p. 36 of the *quaestiones philologicae*, Sarpe propounds the strange theory that Thomas Seneca Camers wrote the *Pervigilium* at the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D.

1820. Litterarische Analekton vorzüglich für alte Litteratur und Kunst, deren Geschichte und Methodik: herausgegeben von Fried. Aug. Wolf: Berlin, bei G. C. Nauck [Brit. Mus. No. 254. k. 20]. This book is in four parts and two vols.; and contains in part IV, vol. ii, pp. 558–65, a German verse translation of the *Pervigilium*, signed 'C. K.' (Carl Kirchner).

1823. Selecta e Poetis Latinis Carmina ad initiandos Poesi Romana tironum animos: collegit, recensuit, praefatus est Fridericus Lindemann; Lipsiae, sumptibus I. C. Hinrichsii [Brit. Mus. No. 11385. f. 29]. In part II at pp. 83–5 the text of the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

1824. Poetae Latini Minores: satirica, elegiaca, lyrica, et alia quaedam carmina, quae notis veteribus ac novis illustravit N. E. Lemaire: Volumen secundum: Parisiis: colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire [Nicolas Eloi Lemaire], poeseos Latinae professor [Brit. Mus. No. 11305.

m. 5]. This book contains at pp. 477–536 'Incerti auctoris, fortasse L. Annaei Flori, Carmen de Vere seu Pervigilium Veneris, e codice antiquo Cl. Salmasii et recensione Pet. Scriverii, denuo castigatum et perpetua adnotatione illustratum', i. e. a reprint of Wernsdorf's edition (*vide* the year 1782 *supra*).

1828. Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik: eine kritische Zeitschrift, in Verbindung mit einem Verein von Gelehrten, herausgegeben von M. Joh. Christ. Jahn: Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner: vol. viii [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4985]. At pp. 200–4 'Beiträge zu einer neuen Bearbeitung der Anthologia Latina' by Julius Sillig.

1828. Allgemeine Schulzeitung: ein Archiv für die Wissenschaft des gesammten Schul-, Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens und die Geschichte der Universitäten, Gymnasien, Volksschulen und aller höheren und niederen Lehranstalten: herausgegeben von Ernst Zimmermann, Doctor der Theologie und Hofprediger in Darmstadt: Darmstadt, Druck und Verlag von Karl Wilhelm Leske: vol. v [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 1200 af]. Part II at pp. 959–60 'Philologische Analekten' by Fr. Osann.

1831. Phaedri Aug. Liberti Fabulae Aesopiae: prima editio critica cum integra varietate codd. Pithoeani, Remensis, Danielini, Perottini, et editionis principis, reliqua vero selecta: accedunt Caesaris Germanici Aratea ex fide codd. Basil. Bern. Einsiedl. Freiberg. ed. principis emendata et suppleta: Pervigilium Veneris ad codd. Salmas. et Pith. exactum ab Io. Casp. Orellio; Turici, typis Orellii, Fuesslini et sociorum. See pp. 213–39. There is no copy of this book in the British Museum, but there is one in the London Library, St. James's Square.

1832. Phaedri Aug. Liberti Fabulae Aesopiae: prima ed. critica cum integra varietate codd. Pithoeani, Remensis, Danielini, Perottini, et editionis principis, reliqua vero selecta: accedunt Caesaris Germanici Aratea ex fide codd. Basil. Bern. Einsiedl. Freiberg. Ed. Venetae 1488 emendata et suppleta, Pervigilium Veneris ad codd. Salmas. et Pith.

exactum ab Io. Casp. Orellio : editio altera aucta Phaedri fabulis novis ac Angelo Maio redintegratis et Publii Syri sententiis XXX. Turici repertis ; Turici, typis Orellii, Fuesslini et sociorum [Brit. Mus. No. 2045. e]. At pp. 213–39 : a reprint, so far as concerns the *Pervigilium*, of Orelli's first edition in the preceding year.

1833. Corpus Poetarum Latinorum : uno volumine absolutum : cum selecta varietate lectionis et explicatione brevissima, edidit Guilielmus Ernestus Weber, philosophiae doctor, Lycei Bremensis director atque professor : Francofurti ad Moenum, sumptibus et typis Henrici Ludovici Broenneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11352. e. 15]. At p. lxxix and pp. 1414–15.

1842. De carmine Latino quod Pervigilium Veneris inscribitur : scripsit Dr. Gust. Henr. Heidtmann : Gryphiae, typis Frid. Guil. Kunike, Reg. Acad. typogr. [Brit. Mus. No. 11312. c. 43. (4)].

1842. Poetae Minores : Paris : C. L. F. Panckoucke, éditeur, officier de l'ordre royal de la légion d'honneur : Rue des Poitevins, 14 [Brit. Mus. No. 11306. k. 31]. At pp. 303–22 'Veille en l'honneur de Vénus, traduction nouvelle par M. Cabaret-Dupaty, professeur d'université— preface, text, French prose translation, and notes.

1843. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, No 332 : June 1843 : Vol. 53 : Edinburgh, William Blackwood & Sons, 45 George Street, and 22 Pall Mall, London [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 6202]. At pp. 715–17 'The Vigil of Venus', a verse translation with a short prefatory note published anonymously ; but afterwards in 1882 (q. v.) acknowledged by C. G. Prowett.

1850. Collection des Auteurs Latins avec la traduction en français, publiée sous la direction de M. Nisard, professeur d'éloquence latine au Collège de France ; Paris, J. J. Dubochet, le Chevalier et Comp., éditeurs, rue Richelieu No. 60 ; Garnier Frères, libraires, Palais-National 215 et Rue Richelieu 10 [Brit. Mus. No. 11306. m. 4]. Vol. iv at pp. 605–8 'Le Poëme du Printemps, vulgairement appelé la

Féte de Vénus': text divided in distichs as by Sanadon, and French prose translation.

1852. Pervigilium Veneris pristino nitori restitutum: prostat Lipsiae apud Vitelmum Engelmannum [Brit. Mus. No. 11375. f. 35]. Contains preface, text, and commentary; anonymous. G. Piazza (*vide* the year 1889 *infra*), p. 64, attributes this edition to Friederich Lindemann.

1854. Erotica: the poems of Catullus and Tibullus and the Vigil of Venus: a literal prose translation with notes by Walter K. Kelly; to which are added the metrical versions of Lamb and Grainger and a selection of versions by other writers; London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden [Brit. Mus. No. 2500. e. 16]. Prose translation and notes by Kelly at pp. 100–4: verse translation by T. Parnell at pp. 293–7 (*vide* the year 1722 *supra*), and by T. Stanley at pp. 297–302 (*vide* the year 1649 *supra*).

1854. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie: herausgegeben von F. G. Welcker und F. Ritschl: Frankfurt am Main: F. D. Sauerländer's Verlag [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4981]. Vol. x at pp. 195–213 an article by Dr. J. Frei criticizing the anonymous edition of the *Pervigilium* published at Leipzig in 1852 (*vide supra*).

1855. De P. Annio Floro Poeta et carmine quod Pervigilium Veneris inscriptum est: dissertatio inauguralis quam consensu et auctoritate amplissimi philosophorum ordinis in alma litterarum universitate Friderica Guilelma ad summos in philosophia honores rite capessendos die xvi M. Iunii A. 1855 H. L. Q. S. publice defendet auctor Otto Mueller, Regiomontanus; Berolini, typis Gustavi Schade [Brit. Mus. No. 11375. aaa. 13].

1858. De Ephymniorum apud Graecos et Romanos rationibus. Dissertatio philologica, quam consensu et auctoritate amplissimi philosophorum ordinis in alma litterarum academia Georgia Augusta ut summi in philosophia honores sibi concedantur scripsit Franciscus Casparus Goebbel [Franz Caspar Göbbel], Guestphalus; Gottingae,

typis expressit officina academica Huthiana; viii Cal. Febr. 1858 [Brit. Mus. No. 11335. f. 20]. At pp. 56–61 of this book Göbbel attempts to rearrange the *Pervigilium* strophically.

1859. Pervigilium Veneris, adnotabat et emendabat Franciscus Bücheler; Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11385. a. 28.]

1859. Rheinisches Museum, &c. (*vide* the year 1854 *supra*). Vol. xiv. at pp. 324-5 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris', by O. Ribbeck.

1860. Ibidem: vol. xv at pp. 445–51 'Coniectanea critica' by Franciscus Bücheler.

1860. Griechische Götterlehre von Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker: Göttingen, Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung [Brit. Mus. No. 4505. eee. 33]. Vol. ii at pp. 222–4 Welcker argues in favour of Bücheler's emendation *vere natus est iouis* in line 2 of the *Pervigilium*.

1861. Jahrbücher für classische Philologie: herausgegeben von Alfred Fleckeisen: Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4985]. Vol. 83 at pp. 639–53 'Zur Litteratur des Pervigilium Veneris' by Lucian Müller: a criticism of the edition of F. Bücheler (Leipzig, 1859) and Th. Bergk (Halle, 1859).[1]

1863. Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum: herausgegeben von Ernst von Leutsch: Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 5043]. Vol. xix at pp. 721–2 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris' by H. H. Koch.

1864. The Poetry of Catullus, to which is added the Vigil of Venus, rendered into English by Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A., late scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge: Leeds; J. Smith, Commercial Street; Longmans & Co., London; Macmillan & Co., Cambridge. At pp. 43–5 is a verse translation of the *Pervigilium*. There is a copy of this book in the London Library, but not in the British Museum.

1865. Philologus, &c. (*vide* the year 1863 *supra*) Vol. xxiii at pp. 356–61 'Pervigilium Veneris' by J. Mähly.

[1] There is no copy of Bergk's edition in the British Museum.

1867. Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien: verantwortliche Redacteure J. G. Seidl, H. Bonitz, F. Hochegger: Wien, Druck und Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 1204. b]. Vol. xviii, pp. 233–43 'Zur Kritik des Pervigilium Veneris' by Karl Schenkl.

1869. Anthologia Latina, sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum: pars prior: Carmina in Codicibus Scripta, recensuit Alexander Riese; fasciculus I: libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina; Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 11340. cc. 10]. Vol. i at pp. 144–8, text and apparatus criticus of the *Pervigilium*.

1872. Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, &c. (*vide* the year 1861 *supra*): vol. 105, pp. 55–6 'Kritische Satura' by Emil Bährens.

1872. Ibidem: vol. 105, p. 494 'Zum Pervigilium Veneris' by 'G. F.'

1873. Ibidem: vol. 107, pp. 66–7 'Kritische Satura' by Emil Bährens.

1874. Temple Bar, a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers: vol. 40: March, 1874: London, Richard Bentley & Son, 8 New Burlington Street: New York, Willmer and Rogers [Brit. Mus. No. PP. 6004. gm]. At pp. 495–8 'The Pervigilium Veneris (The Wake of Venus)', an English verse translation by 'E. H.'

1876. Rheinisches Museum, &c. (*vide* the year 1854 *supra*). Vol. xxxi, pp. 101–2 'Zur lateinischen Anthologie' by Emil Bährens.

1877. Unedirte Lateinische Gedichte, von Emil Bährens; Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner [Bodleian 297. e. 82]. At pp. 39–45 text of *Pervigilium* and commentary thereon.

1878. Poesie di Giosuè Carducci (Enotrio Romano); terza edizione,[1] precedute da una biografia del poeta; volume unico; Firenze; G. Barbèra, Editore [Brit. Mus. No. 11429. d. 33]. At pp. 148–52 stanzas 14 sqq. of the 'Canto di Primavera' are based on the *Pervigilium*.

[1] The first edition was, I believe, published at Florence by Barbèra in 1871; but there is no copy in the British Museum.

1882. Poetae Latini Minores, recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens [Emil Bährens]; Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri [Brit. Mus. No. 2049. b. 3]. Vol. iv at p. 48 prefatory note, and at pp. 292–7 text of *Pervigilium* and apparatus criticus.

1882. Translations and Original Pieces by the late Charles Gipps Prowett, M.A., formerly Fellow and Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; edited by C. H. Monro, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge: Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co.: London, G. Bell & Sons [Bodleian 280. o. 776]. At pp. 239–54 a reprint of the verse translation, first published in 1843 (q.v.) with a short prefatory note.

1885. Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne: nouvelle série continuée sous la direction de O. Riemann et Ém. Chatelain: Paris, C. Klincksieck, Libraire d'Institut de France, 11 Rue de Lille [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 5042]. Vol. ix at pp. 124–6 'Conjectures de Joseph Scaliger sur le Pervigilium Veneris' by H. Omont, and 'Conjectures d'Achilles Statius sur le Pervigilium Veneris' by E. Chatelain.

1885. Marius the Epicurean, his sensations and ideas: by Walter Pater, Fellow of Brasenose College; London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York, the Macmillan Co. [Brit. Mus. No. 12619. u. 1], Vol. i, chapters 6 and 7: see especially pp. 73–85.

1888. The Journal of Philology, edited by W. Aldis Wright, M.A., Ingram Bywater, M.A., and Henry Jackson, Litt.D.; London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co.: Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge [Brit. Mus. No. RPP. 4970. c]. Vol. xvii, pp. 179–91 'The Pervigilium Veneris' by J. W. Mackail.

1889. Studio critico intorno al Pervigilium Veneris con versione di Anton Giulio Barrili[1] e di Giosuè Carducci [*vide* the year 1878 *supra*]

[1] Published in the Cronaca Bizantina, vol. vi, No. 7, dated April 1, 1884; but there is no copy in the British Museum.

per Giuseppe Piazza: Trani, Tipografia dell' editore V. Vecchi E.C.; Maggio [Brit. Mus. No. 11312. q. 4 (2)].

1891. 'Love Lies Bleeding': Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street [Brit. Mus. No. 11653. a. 90]. Contains at pp. 74–88 'The Vigil Hymn of Venus', a translation of the *Pervigilium* into English verse: author anonymous.

1893. Catullus, with the Pervigilium Veneris, edited by S. G. Owen; illustrated by J. R. Weguelin: London: Lawrence and Bullen, 16 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden [Brit. Mus. No. K. T. C. 15. a. 4].

1894. Pervigilium Veneris (Veille en l'honneur de Vénus), traduit en vers français par Raoul Lajoye: Paris, A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, éditeurs, libraires de la cour d'appel et de l'ordre des avocats: G. Pedone-Lauriel, successeur, 13 Rue Soufflot [Brit. Mus. No. 11385. $\frac{bb}{8}$ 33].

1895. La veglia di Venere by Piazza (Torino, E. Loescher): apparently a second edition of Piazza's 1889 work on the subject.

1902. The Bibelot: a reprint of Poetry and Prose for book lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known: printed for Thomas B. Mosher and published by him at 45 Exchange Street, Portland, Maine: vol. viii, No. 4; April 1902. Contains Latin text and four verse translations of the *Pervigilium*, viz. (1) Stanley's, 1651; (2) Parnell's, 1720; (3) Prowett's, 1843; (4) Hayward's, 1901.

1905. The Classical Review: Vol. 19: London, David Nutt, 57–59 Long Acre [Brit. Mus. RPP. No. 2048. h.]. (*a*) At pp. 224–5 'De auctore carminis Pervigilium Veneris inscripti' by L. Raquettius: and (*b*) at p. 304 'On the Pervigilium Veneris' by J. B. Bury.

1907. Pervigilium Veneris, latine incerti, graece Hugonis H. Johnson, B.A., e Coll. D. Io. Bapt. olim schol.; Oxonii B. H. Blackwell. A translation into Greek verse in the metre of the original.

1909. Pervigilium Veneris, the Watch-night of Venus translated into English verse, by W. H. Porter, Assistant Lecturer in Greek and

Latin in the University of North Wales, Bangor: Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., publishers to the University [Brit. Mus. 11375. b. 42]. Contains an introductory note, the text as rearranged by J. W. Mackail, and a verse translation.

1910. 'The Nation' for May 28, 1910, contains at p. 317 a translation of the Pervigilium Veneris in the original metre by Mr. R. C. K. Ensor.

1910. Pervigilium Veneris: printed by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at the Doves Press, 15 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, from the text as edited, rearranged, and supplemented by J. W. Mackail, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford [Brit. Mus. No. Tab. 501. a. 16]. Based on Mackail's article of 1888.

1911. Pervigilium Veneris: the Vigil of Venus; edited with facsimiles of the Codex Salmasianus and Codex Thuaneus, an introduction, translation, apparatus criticus, and explanatory notes by Cecil Clementi, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Hongkong: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 50 and 51 Broad Street; London, Henry Frowde, Amen Corner [Brit. Mus. No. 11386. gg. 8].

1911. Pervigilium Veneris: Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, Londini et Novi Eboraci apud Henricum Frowde [Bodleian No. 2974. f. 1]. Mackail's text with a short introduction.

1911. Pervigilium Veneris: translated into English in the original metre by Elizabeth Hickman du Bois, Ph.D.: drawings by Dela P. Mussey: Elm Tree Press; Woodstock, Vermont [Brit. Mus. No. 11388. gg. 2].

1911. 'Brother Copas', a novel by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch; J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd., 11 Quay Street, Bristol [Brit. Mus. No. 012618. cc. 8]. At pp. 238, 243–6, 320–2 verse translations of parts of the poem in English: afterwards embodied in the translation of the whole poem published in 1912 (*vide infra*).

1911. The Italian Poems of Milton and the Pervigilium Veneris translated by John Clark, Professor of English Literature at the South African

College, Cape Town: Darter Bros. & Co., Cape Town; H. H. Taylor, printer, 50 Castle Street, Cape Town [Brit. Mus. No. 11603. de. 23(1)]. At pp. 11–18 verse translation from the text of Bährens (see 1882).

1912. The Vigil of Venus and other poems by 'Q.' [Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch]: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, W.C., London [Brit. Mus. No. 011650. f. 98].

1912. Pervigilium Veneris, translated by J. W. Mackail, Hon. LL.D., Edinburgh and St. Andrews, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford; at pp. 343–63 of 'Catullus, Tibullus, and the Pervigilium Veneris': London, William Heinemann: New York, the Macmillan Co., 1912 [Brit. Mus. No. 2282. d. 13]. A volume in the Loeb Classical Library edited by T. E. Page, M.A., and W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. Contains a short prefatory note, the Latin text, and a translation in English prose (cf. the years 1888 and 1910 *supra*).

1913. Bibliographical and other studies on the Pervigilium Veneris compiled from research in the library of the British Museum by Cecil Clementi, M.A., late Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; Assistant Colonial Secretary, Hongkong: Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E.C.

1913. Pervigilium Veneris. The Vigil of Venus. The English rendering by Lewis H. Grundy. Privately printed. [Brit. Mus. No. 11408. e. 84(3)].

1916. Occasional Publications of the Classical Association, No. 6. A Study of the *Pervigilium Veneris* by J. F. Dobson, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Bristol: Cambridge at the University Press. This pamphlet includes a translation of the poem into English verse by Professor Dobson.

1920. Sappho and the Vigil of Venus: translated by A. S. Way [Brit. Mus. No. 11340. de. 22].

1920. The Classical Quarterly: vol. 14: London, John Murray,

Albemarle Street, W. At pp. 173–85 'The *Pervigilium Veneris* and the *Tiberiani Amnis* in quatrains' by J. A. Fort. The text of the poem is rewritten in quatrains after the manner of J. W. Mackail's reconstruction, while in a parallel column is printed the text of S and the variations exhibited in the text of T are shown in footnotes. There is prefixed an introduction, and explanatory notes are appended.

1922. The Pervigilium Veneris in quatrains by J. A. Fort. [Brit. Mus. No. 11375. d. 34].

1922. Las Pervigilias de Venus. A translation into Spanish verse at pp. 61–68 of the 'Rapto de Helena, Hero y Leandro y otros poemas de la antigüedad clásica' by Miguel Jiménez Aquino: Madrid. [Brit. Mus. No. 11305. ee. 3].

1924. The Eve of Venus. A version of the Pervigilium Veneris by W. J. Ibbett: J. E. Masters: Shaftesbury. [Brit. Mus. No. 11352. df. 24].

1924. Pervigilium Veneris . . . The Eve of Venus. In Latin and English. Edited and translated with a commentary by R. W. Postgate. [Brit. Mus. No. C 98. g. 5].

1927. The Vigil of Venus. A rendering of the Pervigilium Veneris into English verse by Thomas Parnell. High House Press: Shaftesbury. [Brit. Mus. No. 11385. de. 8].

1928. The Empire Review: vol. 47, No. 327. At pp. 247–250 'Nocturn of Venus': translated into English verse by Hugh Macnaghten, Vice-Provost of Eton. The refrain is rendered thus: 'Loved you never? Love to-morrow! Loved you yesterday? Love on!'

X. WORKS ON THE PERVIGILIUM VENERIS NOT PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OR BODLEIAN LIBRARY

In conclusion it may be useful to note in chronological order a considerable list of works on the *Pervigilium Veneris*, to which I have found references, but of which apparently no copies exist in the British Museum or in the Bodleian Library. Their number is somewhat surprising.

1588. Ianus Dousa filius: coniectanea in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium (Lugd. Bat.).

1613. Jo. Weitzius: separate edition of the *Pervigilium* (Francof.).

1618. Jo. Weitzius: Catalecta Poetarum veterum, Petronii editio Frelloniana (Francof.).

1742. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, quibus adiectum est Pervigilium Veneris (Göttingen). This edition is by some attributed to I. M. Gesner.

1750. Translation in French verse by Blanchet de Pravieux (Paris).

1762. With Catullus, &c. (Göttingen).

1771. By Bernardo Trento (Treviso): see also Nuova Raccolta di operette italiane (Treviso, 1795).

1775. 'Dans le séance publique de l'acad. d'Amiens tenue au mois d'avril 1775, M. de Wailly lut une traduction en vers du *Pervigilium Veneris*, précédée d'une dissertation sur le véritable auteur de ce Poème. Cette dissertation, faite avec tout le goût d'une littérature exquise, annonce avantageusement la traduction, dans laquelle M. de Wailly a toujours égalé, quelque fois surpassé, les beautés de l'original, dont il a même eu souvent l'art de couvrir les défauts.' *Esprit des Journaux*, Sept. 1775 (from a MS. note at the back of the Brit. Mus. copy of Beauregard's edition of the *Pervigilium*: see the year 1792 *supra*, p. 72).

1787. By Francesco Cassoli (Modena).

1794. With Latin elegiac poets, by C. G. Lenz (Brunswick).

1795. By N. N. (Floriano Caldani) at Padova.

1797. By Saverio de Rogati (nel Parnaso del Rubbi; Venezia).

1798. 'Catullus translated in English verse' (at pp. 188–207); *vide supra*, p. 73.

1809. Chateaubriand, 'Les Martyrs': first edition (see under the year 1810 *supra*, p. 73).

1810. With Catullus, &c. (Halle).

1812. French verse translation by Charles Louis Mollevaut.

1812. Incerti auctoris Pervigilium Veneris, commentario perpetuo illustratum, prooemio et lectionis varietate instructum. Dissertatio philologica, quam, consentiente amplissimo philosophorum ordine pro facultate legendi die XXI Martii 1812, publice defendet Ernestus Conr. Fridericus Schulze, doctor philosophicae; Gottingae, typis I. C. Baier, typogr. Acad.

1816. 'Die Nachtfeier der Venus, lateinisch u. deutsch mit Anmerkungen' by Ernst Anton Ludwig Moebius (Soest).

1825. Text with Danish translation by Simon Sørensen Meisling (Copenhagen).

1829. Examina Gymnasii Cliviensis VI et VII ante Idus Septembres 1829 publice indicit Fridericus Antonius Rigler, scholae director. Insunt annotationes maximam partem criticae in poetas Latinos, qui minores vocantur: Appendix syllogen continens animadversionum in librum Manethonis Apotelesm. secundum: denique annales scholae: Cliviae, ex officina Kochiana. (Contains the notes of Rigler and of Carl August Moritz Axt on the *Pervigilium*.)

1830. Hermann Paldamus 'in scriptione invitatoria ad examen solemne Gryphiswaldiae': Greifswaldischer Schulprogramm von Michaelis 1830 (Greifsw.).

1832. G. Bernhardy (Berlin. Jahrb. Juli 1832) in a review of Orelli's

Phaedrus propounds the theory that the *Pervigilium* is a translation from a Greek original.

1839. Pervig. Ven. c. lect. var. ed. Heinrich Carl Abraham Eichstaedt (Jena).

1859. Viro summo Friderico Theophilo Welcker diem sollemnem XVI m. Octobris gratulatur Theodorus Bergk: inest commentatio de Pervigilio Veneris: Halae (formis Hendeliis); 22 pages in all. Lucian Müller (*supra*, p. 78, year 1861) says that this pamphlet, so far as he knows, 'nicht in den Buchhandel gekommen ist.'

1863. By Giuseppe Raffaelli (nella strenna della Gioventù; Firenze).

1867. By O. Jacobi (London).

1871. By Ugo Antonio Amico (Palermo); 16 pp.

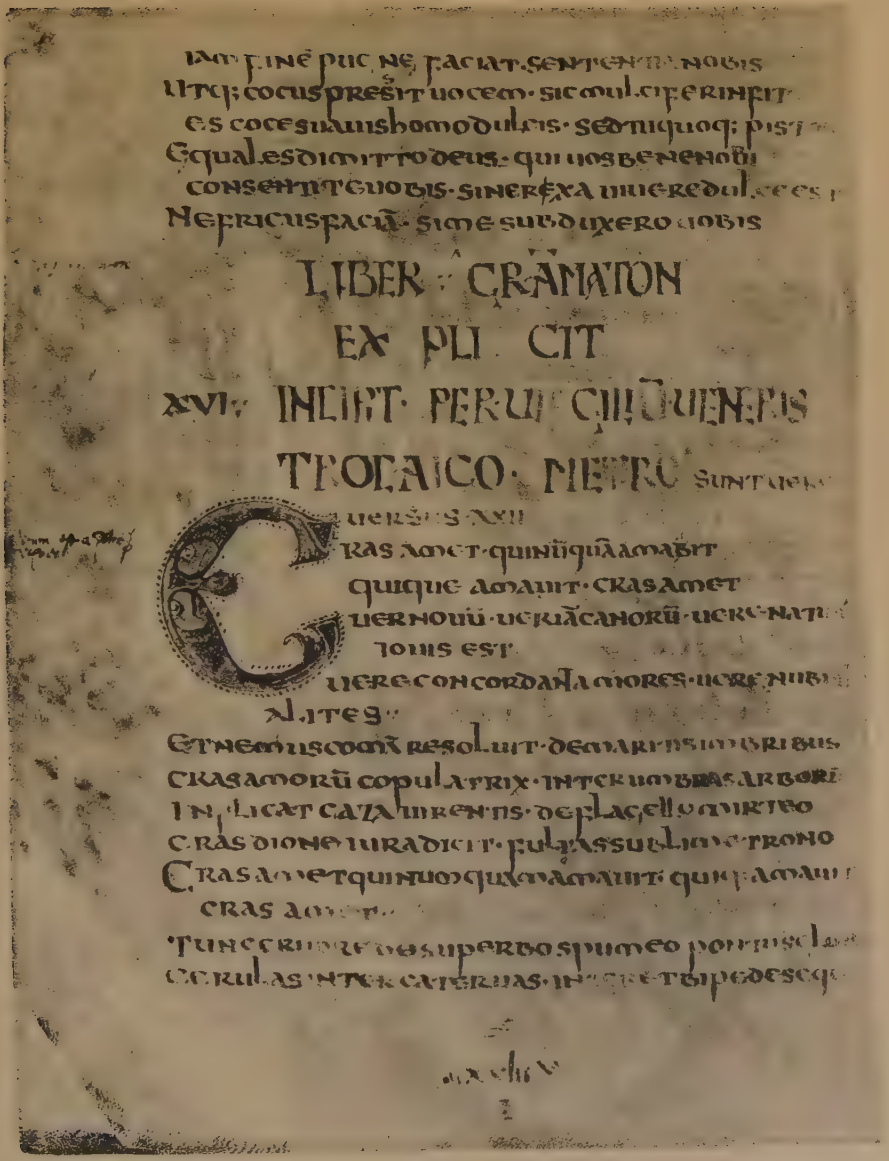
1871. By Giosuè Carducci at p. 125 of his *Canto di Primavera* in his poetical works (Firenze Barbèra).

1884. By Anton Giulio Barrili in 'Cronaca Bizantina, vol. vi, N. 7, 1st April, 1884.'

1901. Verse translation by Laurence Hayward.

To the above list I may add that Danchet in his opera *Aréthuse* appears to have translated into French verse the refrain of the *Pervigilium*; that there are French translations by Pezay (? Alexandre Frédéric Jacquer Masson, Marquis de Pezay) and by Le Noble (? Eustache le Noble de Tennelière, Baron de Saint-George); that the emendation *detinenda* in line 46 is attributed to Heinsius, and the emendation *sume uestem* in line 52 to Crusius. I have not, however, as yet been able to verify these references; and I should be grateful to any scholar who can assist me to find the works in question.

XI. FACSIMILES OF THE CODEX SALMASIANUS AND THE CODEX THUANEUS



LIBER · CRĀMATON
EXPLICIT
XVI · INCIPIT · PERUIGILIUM · VENERIS
TROCAICO · METRO · SUNT VERSUS · XXII

CRAS AMET · QUI NŪQUAM AMAVIT
QUIQUE AMAVIT · CRAS AMET
VER NOVUM · VERA CANORŪ · VERE NATUS ORBIS EST
VERE CONCORDANT AMORES · VERE NUBIT ALITES
ET NEMUS COMĀ RESOLVIT · DE MARITIS IMBRIBUS
CRAS AMORŪ COPULA TRIX · INTER UMBRAS ARBORUM
IMPLICAT CAUTA HIRENTIS · DE PLACELLO MARITO
CRAS DIONE IURA DICIT · PULSA SUBLIMI THRONO
CRAS AMET QUI NUNQUAM AMAVIT · QUIQUE AMAVIT
CRAS AMET
TUNC CRUENTUS DE SUPERBO SPUMEO PONTI SINU
CAERULAS INTER CATERVAS · IN CITE TRIPEDE SEQU

FECIT VNDANTE DIONYSO · MARTIS IN VRBE
CRAS. AMET QUI NUMQUAM AMAUIT · QUIQ: AMAUIT
CRAS AMET ·
IPSA GEMMIS PURPURANTE PINGIT ANNUM FLORIB:
IPSA SURGENTES PAPILLAS DEQ: AGONIS SPIRITU
URGET INNOTOS PENATES IPSA ROSIS LUCIDI
NOCTIS AURAQUE RELINQUIT SPARGIT TUMENTIS AQUAS
ET MICANTI LACRIMAS TREMENTES DECADUCO PONDERE
CUTTA PRECEPS URBE PARUOS USTINE CASUS SUOS
IMPUDORE FLORULENTE PRODIDERUNT PURPORE
HUMORILLE QUEM SERENIS ASTRA RORANT NOCTIB:
MANE UIRGINEAS PAPILLAS SOLUIT TUMENTI PEPLO
IPSA IUSSIT MANET TUTE UIRGINES NUDANT ROSE
FACTA PULUS DECRUORE DEQ: AMORIS OSCULIS
DEQ: CEDEMIS DEQ: FLAMMIS DEQ: SOLIS PURPORIS
CRAS RUBOREM QUI LATEBATUESTE TECTUS IGNEA
UNICA MARINA NOTO NON PUDEBIT SOLUERE
CRAS AMET QUI NUMQUAM AMAUIT QUIQ: AMAUIT
CRAS AMET
IPSA NIMPAS DIUA LUCO IUSSIT IRE AMYKTEO
ET PUER COMES PUELLIS NECTAMEN CREDI POTE
ESSE AMOREM FERIATUM SI SAGITTAS UEXERIT
IN TENIAM PEPOSUIT ARMA TERIXTUS EST AMOR
IUSSUS ET INERMIS IRE NUDUS ILICE IUSSUS EST
NEU QUID ARCUI NEU SAGITTAE UEL QUID IGNE LE
DERET ·
SED TENENNIMPE CAUETE QUOD CUPIDO PUERO
TOTUS EST INERMIS SI DE QUANDO NUDUS EST AMOR
CRAS AMET QUI NUMQUAM AMAUIT · QUIQ: AMAUIT CRAS AMET

COMPARIUERIS PUDOREM MITTIT AD TE UIRGINES
UNUM RES EST QUAM ROGAMUS CEDE UIRGO
UT NE AMISSIT INCREMENTUM DE PERIS TRACIS:
IPSA UELLIT EUOCARE SI PUDICA MALLET ET
IPSA UELLIT UT UENIRES SI DECERET UIRGINEM
TAMEN TUUM DOLOSUS UIDERES PERIRE NOCTIBUS
CONCRECES INTER CATERUAS IRE PERSAEPE TUS
FLORES INTER CORONAS AUT RETE INTER CASAS
NEC CERES NEC BACCUS AB SUNT NEC PORRO ARTE
DE NENTE TOTA NOX EST PERUIGILANDA CANTICIS
RECINET INSIDIOSUS DOLOS NATURE CEDE DELIX
CRAS AMET QUI NUNQUAM AMAUIT QUIQUE AMAUIT CRAS AMET
MISSIT HYBLEIS TRIBUNAL STARE DIU FLORIBUS
PRESENSIPSA IURA DICIT ADSEDERUNT GRATIE
NIL ATOTUS FUNDET QUID QUID ANNOS AUFERT
NIL AFLORUM SUPERES TEMPUS QUANTUS EST NEC EA
DUS EST
RURIS HICERUNT PUELLE UEL PUELLE MONTIUM
QUEQUE SILUAS QUE LOCUS QUEQUE MONTES INCOLUM
IUSSIT OMNES ADSIDERE PUERI AUFERA TRIS
IUSSIT ET NUDO PUELLAS NIL AMORI CREDERE
CRAS AMET QUI NUNQUAM AMAUIT QUIQUE AMAUIT
CRAS AMET
ET RICE NIDI UIRENTES DUO ADUMBRAT FLORIBUS
CRAS ERIT QUO PRIMUS ET HERCOPOLA UIRTUS
UT PATER ROMULEA CREAUIT UERNIS ANNUM NUBIS
IHS IN UMBRATUS. IOANNES PLUXIT AMICONIUM
UNDE PLETUS AMIXTUS OMNIS ADMIRETUR NOCORPE
IPSA UENAS ADEQUANTE MPERA EAMNIS PIRITUS

INTUS OCULTIS COMMERCIA PROCREANTIS UIRIS
PER QUEM CELUM PER QUEM TERRAS PONTUM
SUBDITUM
PER UIUM SUI TENDERE SEMINALI TRAMITE
INDUIT IUSSIT QUE MUNDUM NOSSE NASCENDI UIAS
CRAS AMET QUIS HUNC QUIS AMAUIT QUIS QUE AMAUIT CRAS AMET
IPSA TROIANOS NEPOTES IN LATINOS TRANSTULIT
IPSA LAURENTE PUELLAM CONIUGE NATO DEDIT
NOX QUE MARTIS DE SACELLO DAT PUDICA UIRGINE
ROMULEAS IPSAS PECTI CUM SABINIS NUPTIAS
UNDE SAMNES ET QUIRITES PROQUE PROLES POSTERI
ROMULIAM MATREM CREARET ET NEPOTEM CAESARE
CRAS AMET QUIS HUNC QUIS AMAUIT QUIS QUE AMAUIT CRAS AMET
RURA SECUNDA TUO LUPTAS RURA UENERE SENIUM
IPSE AMOR PUER DIONE RURE NATUS DICITUR
HUNC AGRESTIS PARTURIET IPSA SUSCEPIT SINU
IPSA FLORIS DELICATIS EDUCAUIT OSCULIS
CRAS AMET QUIS HUNC QUIS AMAUIT QUIS QUE AMAUIT
CRAS AMET
ECCE IAM SUPERCILIA EXPLICAT NIHIL OTIUS
QUISQUE TUTUS QUOTIENS TURBA CONIUGALIS EDERE
SUBTERUMBRAS CUM MARITIS ECCE UXOR ANTUCRIS
ET CANORAS NON TACERE DIUA IUSSIT ALITES
IAM LOQUACES ORE RAUCO STANCHA QUONDAM PSITTACI
ADSONAT TERE I PUELLAS SUBTERUMBRA POPULI
UT PUTES MOTUS AMORIS ORE DICI MUSICO
ET NEGES QUERIS SORORE DE MARITO BARBARO
ILLA CANTAT NOS TACEMUS QUANDO UIRUS HIC TUUS

QUANDO FIUT CELEBRE NUTRICE DESINAM
PERDIANUS AUTEM NON HEC AEQUE POTEST RESPICIT
SICANIDAS CUM TACUERET PERDICIS ILLE TUUM
CRASMICI QUINQUAGENARIE QUINQUAGENARIE QUIQUAGENARIE CRASMICI
DE ETI
PANDE CANNUM GENETRIX · IONIS TINCTURA BILLIS
TUTIUS NATUM SORTIS · HABERE DECUS
DE LUCANENO
HIC CYTHEREA TUO POTERAS · CUM MARTE NOCERE
VULCANUS PROIECTURA QUIS · SOL PELLI RUMORIS
IN ANCILIA SUA TUTATORIUM DOMUS REGIS
HIC DIRIGI REGIS · PULCRE MIRABILE PECTUS
ARTE OPERE INGENIO · DIUTIUS PRÆMIO
HINC RADIOS SOLI PSECAPIT · QUOS HUC DARE POSSET
ALTERA MAMORIS · CREDITURE SEDES
DE SERUANDO MEDICO
SERUANDI SPURCUM MEDICUM · NOSTRUMQUE MEDENDI
QUIS ET TARTAREUM MISSUM · DE CARCERE PINXIT
AUTORITATE TUMENS ORCI · CUI CORPORA MITTIT
IMPERITUS INERS AUSUS TERRE REPETAM
CUM STARET IN MEDIO · MOXILLUO CUTE SUPERUM
BURDONUM DUCTOR PALLENS · NUMQUID PORTA PATEBAT
SERUANDE INFAMIS · SERUANDE FABULE PESTIS
ABBAT SERUANDE CANIS · SERUANTE CATENIS
SERUANDE AD EIS SEMPER SERUANDE LACELLIS
SERUANDE IN PARTE MISERA · HABRAS TANOSE SIS
UTILIAS UALEMAM · UTINAM TANDAUTRITAM
CAPIAT FISCA BIXIDAS · EAM TRANSIRE UOLEBAT
DE CASTELLANO

P resenti exemplo firmatur fabule mendax
Cum terris & sonat pinguis oliua moles.

Ecce hominis cursus funus & cura fere DECIT
P igra suum cunctis come lacrumacte decore

Musica cornan gens subolis tamina pulsu. MARCELLO
Cum soleas fremulis tessere ungue heros. DEDICAT

Ingredit ur uulgo auribus ut placeret
C aute quidem genetrix nouerat nemini neranato

Sic tela chique potens cui brachia linguae
Confirmat stigio fonte puer rum

Concordem sensu conciliata pari
S ed quia fas nullis humana incere sortem.

Nunc lira aequali ambo moderamine libram
Inmenbris tanca dante sib sacra locum

Aequa soror socia astemperat astemanus
C rasam & quinum quam amauit quisq: ores amauream &

Ut dubium tibi sit gemina dulcedine capta
Uernouum uernam canorum uernacet orbi sit.

Uox utrum canat an lyraque sole sone &
U eteron cordante unaores uere nubente almer

LAUS TEMPORUM QUATTUOR
Et nemus conam resolu & demartus imbrib.

Carpat blonda suis ueralmum dona roseas
C rasamorem copulatur ix inter umbras arborum

Torrida decolecat exulcet frugibus aestas
Inplicat zephyrus remet de flagello mitteo.

Indicat autumnum redimita opea lunte uertex
C rasdione iuradiet fulget sublimi trono

Fingor epallo & hiemps designat sal tremp;
C rasamet quinumquam amauit quisq; amauit erasame &

LAUS OMNIUM MENSUUM
T unaquisque desuper huic spumeo pene deglous

Fulget honorifico indoctus iamin sis comitem
C erulei inter caterua sinter eam pedes equor

Signans romuleas tempora consulibus
Fert undantem dione demartus imbribus.

Rusticabaccifer intertexens arma novellis
C rasamet quinumquam amauit qq: amauit erasam &

Hiemem ut februi nomen habere dei
Ipsa gemmas purpuram tempingit annu floribs:

Martius in campis ludens simulacra ferox duelli
Ipsatur gemmis papillas de facibonis partu

Ora cinis tacitea dona gregis
Uirgu & intexos pennis ipse rorisluci di

Sacra dionee referens sollemnia matris
Nocte aura quem selin quid spargit rumoris aquas

Lasciuus crocalis decuda aprilis suauis
Tum ecanat lucerim tremente deca dū pondere

Maius adblandas natet decat honoris
Ebria uocat precep orbe paruo sustan & ceu sus suos

Explicat pulchris florea serta rosis
Impudorem florulenta pdiderunt pupure

Sinuginas ornans aestiua praedia mouis
Ut morille quem serenis aetherioranti noctib:

Iunius huic nomen fauste iuuenta dedit
Mane uirgineas papilla solui tumida peplo

Quamlibet mensis cari & ali germine gaudet
Ipsuisse mane uisse uirginei nubantis rose

Julius magno caesare nomen habet
Fusca prius decruore deeq: amoris oculis

Augustum pene torrete fecomaus ardor
O eq: gemmis deq: flammis deq: solis purpuris

quem recreante fessum gello fabella melo
C rasrubore quilacebeate uerecundie signem

Aequales libre septembri degere horas
Uinea marito nodo non pudente soluere

Cum bouis captum rure ferens lepor em
C rasamet quinumquam amauit qq: amauit erasamet

Comerit octobres cum sit calidi anni
Ipsa num fessa diua loco iussit remitteo

Et spumante pleno dulcis musta lacu
Expuer comis puellis nec amen creali potest

Arua nouembres arans secundo nomine bessis
Esse amorem feriatum sisa gregis uexerit

I tentrm fe posuit arma feriatus ē amor
I ussus ē inermis ire durus ire iussus est
Ne quid acuto sagitta ne quid digne lalew
S edheu nrmfe cauete quod cupido pulcher est
T eatis ē inermis i dem quando nudus ē amor
C ras amē quinū quā amauit. eras amē
C omparuēnus pudore meum adcuir gmes
U na est quam rogemus cedeuir godelia
U tne nussit inc uendum deferm̄s stragibus
I psa uell uenit sidicere uirginem
I amtrib: cōros uideres feriatus noctib:
C ongregesi mter caterua s irep sidus suos
S loretes inter coronas m̄ stetis inī casas
N ec tetes nec baccas abs unte nec pocula rumor
D etinent & cetera noxē per uigila cantatis
R egnē insilus dione ture cede delia
C ras amē quinūp amauit quiq: amauit eras amē
I ussit ē bleis tribunal sterye diua floribus
P resens ipsa iuadicit adsedet gratis
H iblee cotos funde floyes quicquid anni ad
H iblee florum rum peres eq uane & hnecāp;
R uris hicerunt puellē puellē montium
Q ueq: siluaeq: locos queq: montes incolunt
I ussit omis adsidere pueri mater alitas
I ussit & nullo puellas nil amori credere
C ras amē quinūqua amauit qq: amauit eras amē
E t tigeribus uer gentes ducac umbras flexib:
C reseite quiprimus a cher copulauit nupuas
Ut pat tous erat & uemis annū nubibus
I nsinum martus imber fluens alma & coniugis
U t flectus mitis omnis ales & magno corpore
I psa uernas aeq: memento p meantes spū
I nuis oculas gubernat pere aeye uiribus
S er que cōlū pq: terras pq: ponū subditum
P ecuum sui uenerem seminal rapamte
I nbuit ussitq: mundum nos cens cendiuus
C ras amē quinūqua amauit qq: amauit eras amē

I psa troianos nec potest in lecrino transtulit
I psa laurentem puella coniugem nato dedit
M oxq: matri de sacello dat pudicam uirginem
R umulo est ipsa fecit cum sanus nupuas
U nde rames & quirites pq: prole posterum
R omuli matrem creauit & nepotem cesaren
C res amē quinūquā amauit qq: amauit eras amē
R um fercundae uolupiis rura uenerem seruant
I psa amor puer dione rure natus dicitur
H unca ger aipturit & ipsa sus cepit sinu
I psa florum delicatis educauit osculis
C res amē quinūp amauit qq: amauit eras amē
E ccham sup genistas explicat aonii latus
Q uisque tuus quotenus cum iugeli sedere
S ubter umbras cum marras ecceula aneū gregū
F eanoyes nonticeye diua ussit altas
I nloquaces oye rauco fragna cignip strepun
A sonante aere i puellę super umbrā populi
Ut putat motus amoris o pedicimus i co
E ce negei queri soroyem de marico barbaro
I llucciuetet nostrecem quan douer uenae meū
Q uando fecciam uteidon uteeceret desinam
per diduius amacendone me foeb: yes pieit
S icamidas cum tacerē p didit silenium
Cras amē quinūqua amauit qq: amauit eras amē

EXPLICIT PERVIRGILIUM VENE
RIS OFFICIONE UXORIS SUAE

Cyeculae consueta lenandi callidus ayte
Cepisti adductor coniugis esse suae
F t quem forte p casu pentaus conspexerat uxor
consueras patria p cipitee ydomo
S ed pensae acuus derisit recta quidam
Curua rapuens hocyem aneye domo
Nam semel admissus derisit recta quidam
teq: tuus miserum depulit e terb:
S olus uenye p bacchi cundi uerba poetę
C Coniugules hirtum fecaustis ipse caper DIMARTI
CIMEDO

XII. COLLATION OF THE CODEX SALMASIANUS WITH THE CODEX THUANEUS

[The text is a transcript from the Codex Salmasianus: the passages in which the two MSS. differ are printed in italics, and the variant readings of the Codex Thuaneus are given in the footnotes.]

INCIPIT PER UIRGILIUM UENERIS TROCAICO METRO sunt uero uersus xxii

cras amet qui numquam *amabit quique amauit cras amet*
uer nouum uer iam canorum *uere* natus *iouis* est
uere concordant *amores* uere *nubunt* alites
et nemus *comam resoluit* de maritis imbribus
cras *amorum* copulatrix inter umbras arborum
inplicat *gaza uirentis* de flagello *mirteo*
cras dione iura dicit *fultas sublime* trono
cras amet qui numquam amauit *quique* amauit cras amet
tunc cruore de *superbo* spumeo *pontus globo*
cerulas inter cateruas inter et *bipedes* equos
fecit undantem *dionem* de maritis imbribus
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
ipsa *gemmis* purpurantem pingit annum floribus
ipsa *surgentes* papillas de faboni *spiritu*
urget in *notos penates ipsas* roris lucidi
noctis aura quem *relinquit* spargit tumentis aquas
et *micanat lacrimas* trementes de *caduco pondere*
gutta *praeceps urbe* paruo *sustine* casus suos

There is no preliminary note or superscription in T. 1 amauit quique cras amauit amet. 2 uer: orbis. 3 amarores: nubent. 4 conam resoluet. 5 amorem. 6 gazas uirentes: myrteo. 7 fulta sublimi. 8 quinque. 9 tuno quiuore de superhuc spumeo pont' de glouo. 10 uipedes. 11 dione. 13 gemmas. 14 surgentis: sparitu (*corrected to* spvritu). 15 totos pentes ipsa. 16 relinquid. 17 mecanat lucrime: cadū pondere (*in S the last two letters of* pondere *are indistinct*). 18 preceps: orbe: sustinet.

in *pudore* florulente prodiderunt *purpore*
humor ille quem serenis *astra* rorant noctibus
mane uirgineas *papillas soluit tumenti* peplo
ipsa iussit manet tute uirgines nubant rosae
*facta pr*us* de cruore *deque* amoris *osculis*
deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis *purporis*
cras ruborem qui latebat ueste tectus ignea
unica *marita noto* non *pudebit* soluere
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
ipsa nimfas diua *luco* iussit ire myrteo
et puer *comes* puellis nec tamen credi potest
esse amorem feriatum si sagittas uexerit
in te nimfe posuit arma feriatus est amor
iussus *e* inermis ire *nudos* ire iussus est
neu quid *arcu neu* sagitta neu quid *igne* lederet
sed tamen *nimfe* cauete quod cupido *pulcer* est
totus est inermis *sidem* quando nudus est amor
cras amet qui numquam amauit *quique* amauit cras *amit*
conpari uenus pudore mittit ad te uirgines
unam res est quam rogamus cede uirgo delia
ut *nemus* sit *incruentum* de ferinis *tragibus*
* *ipsa uellit erogare si pudicam flecteret*
T 40 ipsa *uellit* ut uenires si *deceret* uirginem
iam tribus *chorus* uideres feriatis noctibus
congreges inter cateruas ire per saltus tuos

19 pudorem: pupure. 20 umor: astnx. 21 papilla soluit umenti. 22 ip iussit mane tuae. 23 fusta prius (*in S there is a blot which obliterates the letter between* r *and* u *in* pr*us): decque (*or* detque): oculis. 24 purpuris. 26 marito nodo: pudent. 28 loco. 29 comis. 31 ite nymfe. 32 est: durus. 33 acuneo: digne. 34 nymfe: pulcher. 35 idem. 36 qui: amet. 38 una re. 39 nenus: incruendum: stragibus. 40 *is omitted in T.* 41 uellet: diceret. 42 choros.

floreas inter coronas *myrteo* inter casas
nec ceres nec *baccus* absunt nec *potearum deus*
T 45 *detinente* tota nox est *peruiclanda* canticis
regnet in siluis dione tu recede delia
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
iussit *hyblei* tribunal stare diua floribus
presens ipsa iura dicit adsederunt gratiae
T 50 hibla *totus fundet quidquid annos adtullit*
hibla florum *superestem* quantus *etnec* campus est
ruris hic erunt puellae *uel* puellae montium
quaeque siluas *quae locus* queque montes incolunt
iussit omnes adsidere pueri mater *alitis*
T 55 iussit et *nudo* puellas nil *amori* credere
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
et rigentibus *uirentes duoad umbra* floribus
cras erit *quo* primus *ether copolauit niptias*
ut pater totis *creauit* uernis annum nubibus
T 60 in sinum maritus imber *fluxit alme* coniugis
unde flaetus mixtus omnis *alteret* magno corpore
ipsa *uenas adque* mentem *permeanti spiritu*
intus ocultis *gobernat procreatis* uiribus
per quem caelum *per quem* terras perque pontum subditum
T 65 peruium sui *tenderem* seminali tramite
inbuit iussitque mundum *nosse* nascendi uias
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
ipsa troianos *nepotes* in *latinos* transtulit

44 mysteas. 45 baccas : poetarum deas. 46 detinent et : peruigila. 49 ybleis. 51 totos funde flores quicquid annis adtulit. 52 rumpereste : ethne. 53 ł. 54 que locos. 55 alitas. 56 nullo : amoti. 58 uergentes ducat umbras. 59 qui : aether copulauit nuptias. 60 crearet. 61 fluctus alma et. 62 ut fletus : aleret. 63 uernas atque : permeante spū. 64 gubernat procreatrix. 65 perque : perque. 66 tenorem 67 nosce. 69 nec potes : latino.

ipsa laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit
T 70 moxque marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem
romuleas ipsas fecit cum *sabinis* nuptias
unde *samnes* et quirites proque prole posterum
romoli matrem crearet et nepotem caesarem
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet
T 75 rura *fecundat* uoluptas rura uenerem sentiunt
ipse amor puer dione rure *natu* dicitur
hunc ager cum *parturiret* ipsa suscepit *sinum*
ipsa florum *deligatis* educauit osculis
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique *amauit* cras amet
T 80 ecce iam super genestas explicat aonii latus
quisque *tutus* quo tenetur *coniugali faedere*
subter umbras cum maritis ecce *balantum gregis*
et *canoras* non tacere diua iussit alites
iam loquaces ore rauco *stangna quinni* perstrepunt
T 86 *adsonat terei puella subter* umbram *popoli*
ut *putes* motus amoris ore dici *mussico*
et neges *queris* sororem de marito barbaro
illa cantat nos tacemus *quan uir* uenit meum
quando *fiam* ut *caelidon* ut *tacere* desinam
T 90 *perdidi musam tacendo nec* me foebus respicit
sic *amiclas* cum taceret *perdedit* silentium
cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet

72 rumuleas ipsa : saumis. 73 rames. 76 facundat. 77 natus. 78 perturiret : sinu. 79 delicatis. 80 amat. 82 tuus : cum iugali federe. 83 ualantum gregum. 84 canores. 85 stagna cigni. 86 adsonante aerei puellae supter : populi. 87 putas : musico. 88. Et : queri. 89 quando uer. 90 faciam : celidon : taceret. 91 perdidimus antacendonẽ. 92. amidas : perdidit. *At the close in T are the words* EXPLICIT PER UIRGILIUM UENERIS. *In S there is nothing to show that the poem is ended and that another work commences.*

XIII. COLLATION OF SYMBOLS AND ERRORS IN S AND T

i. *Symbols used both in S and T.*

¯ = m S 1 nūquā = numquam; S 52 cāpus = campus; T 24 flāmis = flammis; T 59 annū = annum.

; (1) = us S 20 noctib; = noctibus; S 60 nubib; = nubibus; T 51 cāp; = campus; T 57 florib; = floribus.

(2) = ue S 8, 12, 27, 36 quiq; = quique; S 67 iussitq; = iussitque; T 24 deq; = deque; T 62 atq; = atque.

p̨ = per S 65 pq; = perque; S 85 p̨strepunt = perstrepunt; T 42 p̨ = per; T 80 sup̨ = super; T 91 p̨didit = perdidit.

ę = ae S 22 rosę = rosae; S 18 pręceps = praeceps; T 53 quęq; = quaeque; S 52 puellę = puellae.

ii. *Symbols used in S only.*

ẗ = st S 34 ẽ = est; S 29 potẽ = potest.

¨ (deletion mark) S 88 querissörorē = queri sororem.

iii. *Symbols used in T only.*

¯ (1) = en T 34 tam̄ = tamen; T 21 um̄ti = umenti; T 16 tum̄tis = tumentis.

(2) = ne T 54 om̄s = omnes.

(3) = er T 59 pat̄ = pater; T 5 and 43 int̄ = inter.

(4) = unt T 49 adsedēr = adsederunt.

(5) = co T 17 cadū = caduco.

(6) = irit T 62 spū = spiritu.

; = uaeque T 53 q; = quaeque.

p̄ = par T 77 p̄turiret = parturiret.

÷ = est T 51; *also* ·ē· = est T 2, 31, 32, 35 (twice), 45.

′ = ui T 92 q′ = qui; T 27 q′q; = quique.
’ = us T 9 pont’ = pontus; T 88 tacem’ = tacemus.
ꝑ (1) = pro T 19 ꝑdiderunt = prodiderunt; T 63 ꝑcreatrix = procreatrix; T 72 ꝑq; = proque.
ꝙ (2) = quam T 47, 79, 92 nūꝙ = numquam.
ꝯ = uel T 52.
ꝭ = c T 90 nꝭ = nec.
~ occurs once T 61 m̃stus = (?) mixtus.
& = et T 72; *also* T 1 (*twice*) am& = amet; T 58 a&her = aether; T 73 crear& & = crearet et; T 81 ten&ur = tenetur.

iv. *Mistakes common to S and T.*

A. *Letters confused.* e *for* i: S 7 sublime *for* sublimi; S 92 perdedit *for* perdidit; T 4 resolu& *for* resoluit; T 62 ꝑmeante *for* permeanti. *In* S 50 adsederunt *and in* T 49 adsedeꝝ *stand for* adsidebunt; T 17 mecanat *for* micant; T 57 uergentes *for* uirentes. i *for* e: S 6 uirentis *for* uirentes; S 36 amit *for* amet; S 41 uellit *for* uellet; S 83 gregis *for* greges; S 89 uir *for* uer; T 14 surgentis *for* surgentes; S 16 tum̃tis *for* umentes; T 29 comis *for* comes; T 40 dicer& *for* deceret. *In line* 29 *both* S *and* T *read* et *for* it; *and in* S 62 *and* T 61 omnis *stands for* omnes. i *for* u: S 59 niptias *for* nuptias; T 50 annis *for* annus. o *for* u: S 19 purpore *for* purpurae; S 24 purporis *for* purpuris; S 32 nudos *for* nudus; S 51 annos *for* annus; S 54 locus *for* lucos; S 59 copolauit *for* copulauit; S 86 popoli *for* populi; T 28 loco *for* luco; T 33 neo *for* neu; T 53 locos *for* lucos; S 64 gobernat *for* gubernat. *In* S 74 *and* T 73 romoli *stands for* Romuli. u *for* o: S 18 urbe *for* orbe; S 42 chorus *for* choros; S 51 totus *for* totos; S 54 locus *for* lucos; T 71 Rumuleas *for* Romuleas; T 81 cumiugali *for* coniugali. i *for* y: S 6 mirteo *for* myrteo; S 31 nimfe *for* nymphae; S 51 *and* 52 *and* T 50 *and* 51 hibla *for* Hybla; S 28 *and* T 28 nimfas *for* nymphas; S 85 quinni *and* T 84 cigni *for* cygni. o *for* c: S 58

duoad *for* ducat; T 9 tuno *for* tunc. b *for* u: S 1 amabit *for* amauit; S 14 *and* T 14 faboni *for* fauoni. d *for* t: S 58 duoad *for* ducat; S 63 adq; *for* atque; T 16 relinquid *for* relinquit; T 39 incruendum *for* incruentum. g *for* c: S 6 gaza *and* T 6 gazas *for* casas; S 58 *and* T 57 rigentibus *for* recentibus; S 79 deligatis *for* delicatis. r *for* b; S 50 *and* T 49 adsederunt *for* adsidebunt. f *for* ph: S 91 *and* T 90 foebus *for* Phoebus; S 28 *and* T 28 nimfas *for* nymphas. e *for* ę (ae): S 10 and T 10 cerulas *for* caerulas; S 33 *and* T 33 lederet *for* laederet; S 59 ether *for* aether; T 22 rose *for* rosae. s *for* r: S 73 samnes *for* Ramnes; T 43 mysteas *for* myrteas. z *for* s: S 6 gaza *and* T 6 gazas *for* casas. qu *for* c: S 85 quinni *for* cygni; T 9 quiuore *for* cruore.

B. *Letters wrongly omitted.* m: S 19 pudore *for* pudorem; T 11 dione *for* Dionem. n: S 92 *and* T 91 taceret *for* tacerent; T 72 rames *for* Ramnes. s: S 6 gaza *for* casas; S 39 tragib; *for* stragibus (*haplographic error*); S 44 myrteo *for* myrteas; S 49 hyblei *for* hyblaeis; S 58 umbra *for* umbras; S 70 ipa *for* ipsa; S 77 natu *for* natus; T 21 papilla *for* papillas (*haplographic error*); T 23 oculis *for* osculis; T 68 latino *for* latinos. c: S 64 and T 63 ocultis *for* occultis. a: S 17 micanat *and* T 17 mecanat *for* micant. t: S 18 sustine *for* sustinet; T 81 tuus *for* tutus. h: S 7 *and* T 7 trono *for* throno; T 48 ybleis *for* Hyblaeis; T 41 h *in* choros *inserted by afterthought*; S 45 baccus *and* T 44 baccas *for* Bacchus.

C. *Letters wrongly inserted.* n: S 31 inte *for* ite; T 8 quinq; *for* quique; T 85 adsonant *for* adsonat. r: S (in title) and T (in postscript) peruirgilium *for* peruigilium; T 62 uernas *for* uenas. t: S 16 tumentis *and* T 16 tum̄tis *for* umentes (*dittographic error*): S 51 fundat *for* funde; S 21 tumenti *for* umenti (*dittographic error*); T 23 detq; *for* deque; S 60 alma& *for* almae; S 62 alteret *for* aleret; T 89 tacer& *for* tacere.

D. *Other miscellaneous errors.* S 17 *and* T 17 et; *probably* en *is the*

correct reading. S 19 *and* T 19 in; *probably* en *is the correct reading.* S 23 *and* T 23 prius; *a proper name, perhaps* Paphies, *is the correct reading.* S 35 *and* T 35 inermis; *probably* in armis *is the correct reading.* S 42 *and* T 41 feriatis; *probably* feriantes *is the correct reading.* S 50 *and* T 49 presens; *probably* praeses *is the correct reading.* S 54 quę *and* T 53 q; *for* quaeque; *also* montes (*from* S 53 montiū *and* T 52 montium) *for* fontes. S 62 flętus *and* T 61 fletus *for* fetus. S 81 *and* T 80 super ... explicat aonii *for* subter ... explicant tauri. S 90 ut cęlidon *and* T 89 ut celidon *for* uti celidon.

v. *Mistakes peculiar to S.*

A. *Letters confused.* o *for* as: 44 myrteo *for* myrteas. b *for* n: 9 superbo *for* superno. c *for* g: 46 peruiclanda *for* peruiglanda. n *for* g: 85 quinni *for* cygni. ę *for* (1) e: 62 flętus *for* fetus; 90 cęlidon *for* celidon; (2) oe: 82 fędere *for* foedere. as *for* ae; 17 lacrimas *for* lacrimae.

B. *Letters wrongly inserted.* m: 38 unam *for* una; 65 quem (*twice*) *for* que; 78 sinū *for* sinu. s: (1) *dittographic,* 7 fultas *for* fulta; 35 sidem *for* idem; 87 mussico *for* musico; 88 queris *for* queri; (2) *non-dittographic,* 15 and 72 ipsas *for* ipsa. l: 51 adtullit *for* adtulit.

C. *Other miscellaneous errors.* 32 e *for* est. 45 potearū *for* poetarum. 51 *the word* flores *is entirely omitted.* 64 procreatis *for* procreatrix. 66 tenderē *for* tenorem. 89 quan *for* quando.

vi. *Mistakes peculiar to T.*

A. *Letters confused.* a *for* (1) i: 13 gemmas *for* gemmis; 14 spăritu *for* spiritu: 54 alitas *for* alitis; (2) u: 44 baccas *and* deas *for* Bacchus *and* deus; (3) e: 75 facundat *for* fecundat; 86 putas *for* putes. u *for* (1) a: 17 lucrime *for* lacrimae; (2) b: 9 glouo *for* globo; 10 uipedes *for* bipedes; 71 saumis *for* Sabinis; 82 ualantū *for* balantum. e *for*

(1) a: 83 canores *for* canoras; (2) u: nubent *for* nubunt; 5 amorem *for* amorum; (3) oe: 81 federe *for* foedere. ę *for* a: 85 puellę *for* puella. i *for* r: 9 quiuore *for* cruore. uc *for* o: 9 superhuc *for* superno. us *for* ac: 23 fusta *for* facta. c *for* (1) d: 50 quicquid *for* quidquid; (2) s: 66 nosce *for* nosse. d *for* (1) n: 32 durus *for* nudus; (2) cl: 91 amidas *for* Amyclas. h *for* n: 9 superhuc *for* superno. ll *for* d: 55 nullo *for* nudo. m *for* (1) n: 81 cumiugali *for* coniugali; (2) in: 71 saumis *for* Sabinis. n *for* (1) m: 4 conam *for* comam; 39 nenus *for* nemus; 90 musan *for* musam; (2) bi: 26 pudent *for* pudebit. nx *for* ra: 20 astnx *for* astra. p *for* b: 85 supter *for* subter. r *for* d: 32 durus *for* nudus. t *for* r: 55 amoti *for* amori.

B. *Letter wrongly omitted.* r: 33 acu *for* arcu.

C. *Letters wrongly inserted.* c: 68 necpotes *for* nepotes. d: 33 digne *for* igne (*dittographic*). u: 15 urgu& *for* urget. g: 57 uergentes *for* uirentes.

D. *Other miscellaneous errors.* 1 cras *misplaced in the line.* *The line* S 40 *entirely omitted.* 9 de *inserted; perhaps dittographic from preceding* re. 3 amarores *for* amores. 36 qui *for* quique. 22 ip *for* ipsa. 60 fluctus *for* fluxit. 79 amat *for* amauit. 82 gregū *for* greges. 87 Eet *for* et. 89 faciam *for* fiam.

PERVIGILIUM VENERIS

XIV. TEXT

2 Ver nouum, uer iam canorum, uere natus orbis est,
3 uere concordant amores, uere nubunt alites,
4 et nemus comam resoluit de maritis imbribus.
5 cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum
6 inplicat *ca*sas uirentes de flagello myrteo:
7 cras Dione iura dicit fulta sublimi t*h*rono.
8 cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

59 Cras erit quo*m* primus Aether copulauit nuptias:
60 ut pater tot*um* crearet uern*u*s annum nubibus,
61 in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis,
62 unde *f*etus mixtus omn*e*s aleret magno corpore.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

9 Tunc cruore de super*n*o spumeo pontus globo
10 c*a*erulas inter cateruas, inter et bipedes equos,

Numerals on the left side give the sequence of the lines in S. Readings, which diverge from both MSS., are printed in italics. In ST the poem commences with the refrain. Schrijver and Bücheler urged that it should be omitted: and my reasons for agreeing with them are given in Introduction III. 1 *uere* Pithou: *uer natus orbis est* T: *uere natus iouis est* S. 5 *casas* Pithou: *gaza* S: *gazas* T. 6 *trono* ST. 8–11 stand as lines 59–62 in ST: transposed by O. Müller: see Intr. III. 8 *quom* Bücheler: *quo* S: *qui* T. 9 *totum* Saumaise: *totis* ST. *uernus* Pithou: *uernis* ST. 11 *fetus* Pithou: *flaetus* S: *fletus* T. omnis ST. 12 Refrain inserted conjecturally by me: see Intr. III. 13–15 stand as 9–11 in ST. 13 *superno* Pithou: *superbo* S: *superhuc* T. 14 *cerulas* ST.

THE VIGIL OF VENUS

XIV. TRANSLATION

Spring is new and comes with singing! Spring is earth's nativity.
Spring! and all the birds are mating: Spring! and all the Loves agree:
And the wood unbinds her tresses at the wooing of fond showers:
For to-morrow Love's Queen Regent weaves her myrtle-trellis'd bowers,
Plaited green with leafy tendrils, underneath the sylvan shade:
For to-morrow reigns Dione, high-thron'd, royally array'd!
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

'Tis the eve of that day's nuptials whereon primal Aether wed:
For 'twas spring-tide when our Father all the year from rain-clouds bred.
Down he rain'd upon Earth's bosom, wooing thus his gentle wife,
Whereby, blent in one great body, gave he to all seedlings life.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Then from blood-froth on his surface, in a ball of lambent foam,
All among his azure squadrons, where his two-foot horses roam,

fecit undantem Dione*n* de mari*n*is imbribus.
ipsa uenas atque mentem permeanti spiritu
intus occultis gubernat procreatrix uiribus,
perque caelum perque terras perque pontum subditum
peruium sui tenorem seminali tramite
inbuit, iussitque mundum nosse nascendi uias.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Ipsa gemmis purpurantem pingit annum flori*dis*;
ipsa surgentes papillas de Fa*u*oni spiritu
urget in no*d*os *te*pentes; ipsa roris lucidi,
noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit *u*mente*s* aquas.
e*n*! mica*n*t lacrim*a*e trementes de caduco pondere:
gutta praeceps orbe paruo sustinet casus suos.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

*E*n! pudorem florulent*a*e prodiderunt purpur*a*e:
umor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus,
mane uirgineas papillas soluit umenti peplo.
ipsa iussit mane *u*t u*d*ae uirgines nubant rosae:
facta *Paphie*s de cruore deque Amoris osculis
deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris

15 *dionem* S: *dione* T. *marinus* Rivinus: *maritis* ST (from line 3). 16–21 stand as lines 63–8 in ST: transposed by Bücheler: see Intr. III. 17 *ocultis* ST. 22 *floridis* Rigler: *floribus* ST. 23 *Fauoni* Pithou: *faboni* ST. 24 *nodos* a friend of Schrijver: *notos* S: *totos* T. *tepentes* Lips: *penates* S: *pentes* T. 25 *umentes* Pithou: *tumentis* ST. 26 *en* Schulze: *et* ST. *micant* Lips: *micanat* S: *me canat* T. *lacrimas* S: *lucrime* T. 28 Refrain inserted conjecturally by me: see Intr. III. 29 *en* Bouhier: *in* ST. *florulente* ST. *purpore* S: *pupure* T. 32 *mane ut udae* Jan van der Does, the Elder: *mane tuae* T: *manet tute* S. 33 *Paphies* is my conjecture for *prius* ST.

Ocean fashion'd our Dione from the swelling surf-wave's womb.
She herself, Creation's Sovereign, inwardly the mind and veins,
Instinct with her permeant spirit, by her secret strength constrains:
And through sky, through earth and ocean, where her nether path is strown,
Hath she deep in nature's seed-track impress of her passage sown,
And hath bid the ways of child-birth to the whole wide world be known.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Hers the hand that paints the season purpling into gems of flower:
Her own impulse swells the rosebuds by the south-wind's breath of power
Into warm and glowing blossom. She herself, when airs of night
Have bequeath'd to earth their moisture, strews the dew in starry light.
Lo! the tears of dew flash trembling with their downward-drooping weight:
Yet each drop with tiny orbit checks awhile its headlong fate.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn! Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Lo! the flow'ry purple-jewels have betray'd their purity:
For that moisture, which the starlight rains from evening's tranquil sky,
Loos'd at dawn their virgin-bosoms from the mantle's humid red:
By Dione's will at dawning dewy virgin-roses wed—
Roses made of Paphia's life-blood and the burning kiss of Love,
Made of gems, and made of fire-flames and the sun-light from above,

cras ruborem, qui latebat ueste tectus ignea,
unico marita *u*oto non pudebit soluere.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Ipsa n*ym*p*h*as diua luco iussit ire myrteo :
*i*t puer comes puellis ; nec tamen credi potest
esse Amorem feriatum, si sagittas uexerit.
ite, nym*phae*, posuit arma, feriatus est Amor !
iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,
neu quid arcu, neu sagitta, neu quid igne l*a*ederet.
sed tamen nym*phae* cauete, quod Cupido pulcher est :
est in *a*rmis *totus* idem quando nudus est Amor.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Conpari Venus pudore mittit ad te uirgines.
una res est quam rogamus : cede, uirgo Delia,
ut nemus sit incruentum de ferinis stragibus,
et r*e*centibus uirentes du*c*at umbras floribus.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amavit cras amet.

Ipsa uell*e*t *t*e rogare, si pudicam flecteret ;
ipsa uellet ut uenires, si deceret uirginem.
iam tribus choros uideres feria*n*te*s* noctibus
congreges inter cateruas ire per saltus tuos,

36 *unico* Pithou : *unica* ST. *uoto* Bergk : *noto* S : *nodo* T. 38 *nimfas* ST. 39 *it* Pithou : *et* ST. 41 *nimfe* S : *nymfe* T. 43 *lederet* ST. 44 *nimfe* S : *nymfe* T. 45 *est in armis totus* Schrijver : *in armis* Pithou : *totus est inermis* ST. 50 stands as line 58 in ST : transposed in the Leipzig edition of 1852. *recentibus* Pithou : *rigentibus* ST. 51 Refrain inserted conjecturally by me : see Intr. III. 52 *uellet te* Saumaise : *uellit erogare* S. This line is omitted in T. 54 *feriantes* Schrijver : *feriatis* ST.

Will to-morrow yield the crimson, hidden by their fiery stole,
Unasham'd each to one husband, bound in bridal of the soul.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Lo! our Queen hath sent her damsels down the myrtle groves to play:
Love 's a-maying with the maidens; but, if Love make holiday,
Why are arrows in his quiver? Who can trust him when so near?
Onward, maids! he yields his weapons! Love's own holiday is here!
Love must come unarm'd as bidden, nude as bidden must he go,
Lest perchance with bow, or arrow, or with fire he deal you woe.
Yet take heed, unwary maidens! Cupid is a pretty boy:
And when naked best accoutred, full equipp'd for your annoy.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

With her own shy blushes Venus sendeth unto thee her maids:
One the boon we crave: O hear us, virgin born in Delos' glades!
Be the forest's verdure bloodless of the slaughter of the chase!
Let the flowers be fresh, where shadows of the greenwood interlace!
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Venus would herself entreat thee, could she bend thy chaste intent:
She herself would beg thy presence, could thy virgin soul assent.
Now for full three nights of revel, wand'ring through the sylvan bowers,
All amid the myrtle arbours, all amid the festal flowers,

floreas inter coronas, myrteas inter casas:
nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt, nec poetarum deus.
detinenda tota nox est peruiglanda canticis:
regnet in siluis Dione! tu recede, Delia!
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Iussit Hyblaeis tribunal stare diua floribus:
praeses ipsa iura dicet, adsidebunt Gratiae.
Hybla, totos funde flores, quidquid annus adtulit;
Hybla, florum sume uestem, quantus Aetnae campus est.
ruris hic erunt puellae, uel puellae montium,
quaeque siluas, quaeque lucos, quaeque fontes incolunt:
iussit omnes adsidere pueri mater alitis;
iussit, et nudo, puellas nil Amori credere.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Ipsa Troianos nepotes in Latinos transtulit:
ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit:
moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem:
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,
unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
Romuli patrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

57 *baccus* S: *baccas* T. 58 *detinent et tota nox est peruigila* T: *detinente tota nox est peruiclanda* S: *detinenda* Heinsius. 61 *hyblei* S: *ybleis* T. 62 *praeses* Scaliger: *praesens* ST. *dicet adsidebunt* Jan van der Does, the Younger: *dicit adsederunt* ST. 63 *hibla* ST: *totos* T: *totus* S. *annus* Pithou: *annos* S: *annis* T. 64 *sume vestem* Crusius: *superestem* S: *rumpereste* T. *Aetnae* Pithou: *et nec* S: *ethne* T. 66 *quae locus* S: *que locos* T: *fontes* Schrijver: *queque montes* ST (from line above). 75 *romoli* ST. *patrem* Lips: *matrem* ST.

Sister-throngs, bedeck'd with garlands, hand-in-hand thou mightest see,
With them Ceres, with them Bacchus, and the God of Poësy.
Night must stop his hurrying foot-steps, songs our vigil while away:
Reign, Dione, in the forest! Dian, abdicate thy sway!
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Stands our Queen's divine tribunal dight with flowers from Hybla's lea!
She herself will rule the sessions: by her sit the Graces three.
Hybla, pour afield thy flowers, all the year brings in his train!
Hybla, don a flow'ry vesture, wide as Aetna's broad domain!
Hither hasten nymphs of country, hither hasten nymphs of hill;
All that haunt the groves and woodland, or the bubbling fountain's rill,
Hath wing'd Cupid's mother summon'd as assessors to her Court,
Hath she warn'd that Love, though naked, sets a maiden's trust at naught,
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Venus made the Trojan exiles and the Latin people one:
She it was who wed Lavinia, torn from Turnus, to her son:
She betray'd to Mars the virgin, careless of the Vestal oath:
She herself made Sabine maidens plight with men of Rome their troth:
Whence the Ramnes and Quirites; whence, to crown a later age,
Sprang the Caesars, sire and nephew, guardians of her heritage.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Rura fecundat uoluptas, rura Venerem sentiunt;
ipse Amor, puer Dionae, rure natus dicitur.
hunc, ager cum parturiret, ipsa suscepit sinu:
ipsa florum delicatis educauit osculis,
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Ecce! iam subter genestas explicant tauri latus,
quisque tutus quo tenetur coniugali foedere.
subter umbras cum maritis, ecce! balantum greges:
et canoras non tacere diua iussit alites.
iam loquaces ore rauco stagna cygni perstrepunt:
adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,
ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico,
et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro:
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

Illa cantat, nos tacemus. Quando uer uenit meum?
quando fiam uti chelidon, ut tacere desinam?
perdidi Musam tacendo, nec me *Apollo* respicit:
sic Amyclas cum tacerent perdidit silentium.
cras amet qui numquam amauit, quique amauit cras amet.

78 *dione* ST 82 *subter* Jan van Broekhuyzen: *super* ST. *tauri* Scaliger: *aonii* ST. 83 *faedere* S: *federe* T. 84 *greges* Pithou: *gregis* S: *gregum* T. 86 *quinni* S: *cigni* T. 90 Refrain inserted conjecturally by me: see Intr. III. 92 *uti* Rivinus: *ut* ST. *celidon* ST. 93 *Apollo* Thomasius: *foebus* ST. 94 *amiclas* S: *amidas* T. *tacerct* ST.

Fields obey the touch of Venus, quicken'd by the thrill of joy:
Aye, amid the fields ('tis rumour'd) Love was born, Dione's boy:
Him, when glebelands were in travail, Venus fondled at her breast,
Foster'd him with dainty kisses that on roses' lips he pressed.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

Lo! the bulls their flanks are stretching 'neath the broom at lazy ease:
Each with each, by bond connubial safe from rivalry, agrees.
With their mates beneath the shadow, see! the bleating flocks at play:
And our Queen bids her wing'd warblers carol still the silver lay.
Now the chatt'ring swans prate hoarsely o'er the waters of the mere,
While 'neath poplar shade the maiden's answer sounds in Tereus' ear,
Such that in sweet music's cadence we might deem she told love's song,
Nor could think to her fell husband she bemoan'd a sister's wrong.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

She is singing: I am silent. Will my spring-time never come?
When shall I be like the swallow and my voice no longer dumb?
I have lost the Muse by silence: Phoebus me disparageth.
So Amyclae, thro' its silence, found in very silence death.
Are ye loveless or love-lorn? Yours be love to-morrow morn!

XV. EXPLANATORY NOTES

1 sqq. For the ideas pervading the first stanza, compare Ovid, *F.* iv. 13–14 :

Venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima, mensem.
Et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos.

Also *ibidem*, 87–90 :

Nam, quia ver aperit tunc omnia densaque cedit
Frigoris asperitas fetaque terra patet,
Aprilem memorant ab aperto tempore dictum,
Quem Venus iniecta vindicat alma manu.

1. **uer . . . uer . . . uere.** It is clear from lines 8–11 *infra* that the author of the *Pervigilium* was in this passage consciously imitating Virgil *G.* ii. 323–45. For the opening, cf. *loc. cit.* 323–4 :

ver adeo frondi memorum, *ver* utile silvis,
vere tument terrae et genetalia semina poscunt.

Another passage, which the author probably had in mind, was Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* v. 16–22 :

vere novo, quum iam tinnire volucres
incipient, nidosque reversa lutabit hirundo,
protinus hiberno pecus omne movebis ovili.
Tunc etenim melior vernanti gramine silva
pullat, et aestivas reparabilis inchoat umbras ;
tunc florent silvae, viridisque renascitur annus,
tunc Venus et calidi scintillat fervor amoris.

English students will inevitably be reminded of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* (1842), written in the metre of the *Pervigilium*, and especially of the lines :

In the spring a fuller crimson comes upon the robin's breast ;
In the spring the wanton lapwing gets himself another crest ;
In the spring a livelier iris changes on the burnish'd dove ;
In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love.

uer canorum. The epithet is evidently a reminiscence of Virgil, *loc. cit.* 328 :

avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.

uere natus orbis est may be construed either (*a*) 'in the spring is the birth (*natus* nom. sing.) of the world' (*orbis* gen. sing.): or (*b*) 'in the spring the world (*orbis* nom. sing.) was born' (*natus est* 3rd pers. perfect of *nascor*). The deviation of this reading from the MSS. is very slight, for S preserves *uere*, and it is only necessary to suppose that *iouis* (? *aouis*) in S was a corruption for *orbis*, which is correctly written in T. In my opinion this reading is made certain by a comparison of Virgil, *loc. cit.* 336–9 :

Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
crediderim : ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.

As Conington points out, these lines of Virgil 'mean that the world was born in spring. . . . It was springtide that the great globe was keeping'.

Joest Lips (1580), in whose time S was not yet known, suggested *uer renatus orbis est*; and in this he is followed by Wernsdorf (1782) and by Mackail (1912), who translates 'spring is the world reborn' : cf. Calpurnius, *loc. cit.* 21 *viridisque renascitur annus.* But I prefer the simpler emendation, proposed by Pithou (1577), and confirmed by the discovery of S in 1620.

On the other hand, Bücheler (1859) believes that S contains the correct reading ; and he, therefore, writes *uere natus est Iouis*, which may be translated either (*a*) 'in the spring is the birth (*natus* nom. sing.) of Jove', or (*b*) as Bücheler prefers, 'in the spring Jove (*Iouis* nom. sing.) was born'. For *Iouis*, as the nominative case of *Juppiter*, Bücheler quotes Appuleius, *Met.* iv. 33 *Quod tremit ipse Iouis* and an inscription (Henzen 6139) *Iouis Victor argenteus.* F. G. Welcker (1860) considers this passage to be a reference to Zeus Κρηταγενής, 'der jährlich neugeborene Zeus', and refers to Antoninus Liberalis, who speaks of a holy bee-cave in Crete 'worin Rhea den Zeus geboren habe und in welche keinem hineinzugehen erlaubt sei, weder einem Gott noch Sterblichen. In einer bestimmten Zeit aber (des Frühlings) sehe

man jedes Jahr sehr viel Feuer aus der Höhle hervorleuchten und diesz geschehe wann das Blut des Zeus von der Geburt hervorquelle'. Most scholars will, however, agree with S. G. Owen (1893) that 'there is something out of keeping with the rest of the poem in the mention of Jupiter'.

2. **concordant**: cf. Justinian 27, 3, 7 *ne tunc quidem fratres concordare potuerunt*: and *Digest* 48, 5, 11, § 11 *matrimonium bene concordatum.*

nubunt: T reads *nubent.* Both Scaliger (1578) and Lips (1580) saw that this was a mistake for *nubunt*: and their conjecture was confirmed by the discovery of S.

3. **comam resoluit**: 'ad ritum tamen nuptialem (quem in hoc et praecedente versu innui video) proprius videtur accedere, quod *nemus* quoque *comam resolvat imbri* pariter, ut sponsa passis crinibus marito in manus cedebat': Rivinus (1644). There is a play on these two words, which mean that, as the bride unbinds her hair (*coma*) at the bridegroom's bidding, so the trees unfold their leaves (*coma*) at the wooing of the rain.

de. There are three main uses of this preposition in the *Pervigilium.*

(*a*) With *facere* it means 'made *out of*': e. g. lines 13–15 *fecit Dionen de cruore,* and line 33 *rosa facta de cruore.* This usage is quite classical; cf. Ovid *M.* 14, 313 *niveo factum de marmore signum*: and the more striking use of *de* in Virgil, *G.* iii. 13:

> et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
> propter aquam.

(*b*) It means 'down from' in 7 *de sacello dat* and in 15 *undantem de marinis imbribus.* This usage also is classical; cf. Lucretius ii. 1155 *de caelo demittere,* and Cicero Verr. 2, 2, 20 § 49 *decedere de provincia.*

(*c*) It means 'by reason of', 'on account of', or possibly in this line 'under': cf. 23 *papillas surgentes de Favoni spiritu*; 26 *lacrimae trementes de caduco pondere*; 49 *nemus incruentum de ferinis stragibus.* In line 5 it would be possible to construe *casas de flagello myrteo,* 'huts *of* myrtle-tendrils'; but, in view of the other passages, I think it better to construe *virentes de flagello myrteo,* 'green by reason of myrtle-tendrils'. The origin of the construction may be seen in line 89 *queri de marito* 'to complain *of* (i. e. about, on account

of things done by) a husband'. Compare Cicero, *Att.* vii. 7. 3 *nam id nisi gravi de causa non fecisset*; idem *Verr.* ii. i. 30 *flebat uterque non de suo supplicio, sed pater de filii morte, de patris filius.* A striking use of *de* by Cicero occurs in his translation of Aratus, *N. D.* 2, 41, 105:

extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex
dicitur esse polus,

'and just the tip *of* (i. e. from off) the double axle is called the pole'. Periphrases such as these, becoming frequent in comic writers and in vulgar speech, grew still more common in the declining periods of the language, so that in the Romance tongues *de, di,* etc., with a case represent the earlier genitive.

Sanadon (1728) emends *e maritis imbribus,* remarking 'voici le premier retranchement que je fais de ce malheureux *de* qui a tant défiguré cette Pièce'. He also reads in line 5 *e flagello myrteo*; 15 *in marinis fluctibus* and 49 (notwithstanding the consequent hiatus) *a ferinis stragibus.* I see no necessity for these drastic changes.

4. **amorum copulatrix.** Compare Ovid *F.* iv. 97–8:

illa rudes animos hominum contraxit in unum
et docuit iungi cum pare quemque sua.

Similarly, Catullus (lxi. 45) invokes Hymen as *boni coniugator amoris.* The word *copulatrix* is not found in classical Latin: but cf. Ambrosius, *Epist.* 84; Augustinus, *de Trinit.* 11, 9. Compare also the phrase of Appuleius, *Met.* xi. 15 (*Oud.* 783), who calls Isis 'the *sospitatrix* of the human race': and line 17 *procreatrix.*

5. **casas,** i. e. booths erected in connexion with the festival. Similarly, Tibullus (ii. 1. 24), writing apparently of the *Sementivae Feriae,* which Ovid (*F.* i. 657–704) describes as just prior to January 27, says:

turba
ludet, et ex virgis exstruet ante casas.

Cf. 56 *myrteas inter casas,* which confirms Pithou's emendation. De la Monnoye (1716), however, defends *gazas virentes de flagello myrteo,* the reading

of both MSS., as a circumlocution for *myrteas casas*, 'une expression fleurie tout à fait du goût de la Pièce'.

myrteo: cf. 38, 56. The myrtle is sacred to Venus: see Virgil *Ecl.* vii. 61–2:

> populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho,
> formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebo.

The myrtle, being a sea-side plant (*amantes litora myrtos* Virgil, *G.* iv. 124) was supposed to have sheltered Venus under the circumstances explained by Ovid, *F.* iv. 139 sqq.:

> vos quoque sub viridi myrto iubet illa lavari:
> causaque cur iubeat (discite) certa subest.
> litore siccabat rorantes nuda capillos.
> viderunt Satyri, turba proterva, deam.
> sensit, et opposita texit sua corpora myrto.
> tuta fuit facto: vosque referre iubet.

6. *Dione* = Διώνη, i. e. Venus. The name occurs only once in Homer, *Iliad* v. 370:

> ἡ δ' ἐν γούνασι πῖπτε Διώνης δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη
> μητρὸς ἑῆς.

It is clear from this passage that Dione was originally regarded as mother of Aphrodite. She is also named incidentally, among other daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, in Hesiod, *Theog.* 353, and as present at the child-bearing of Leto, *Hymn. Apol.* 93. These appear to be the only attempts to connect with the Olympian system an earlier goddess, who did not really belong to it. Her cult seems to have been Thesprotian and connected with that of Zeus at Dodona, where she was his σύνναος. She also had an altar in Athens near the Erechtheion. All this points to an antiquity more remote than that of Hera (Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th ed., i. 125). The name itself is probably connected with Lat. Diana, and in formation it resembles Διώνυσος: thus, Διώνη = Διϝώνη = Divana = Diana, formed from the root *div* 'to shine'. Being daughter of Dione, Aphrodite was named Διωναίη; cf. Theocritus xv. 106 Κύπρι Διωναία, also xvii. 36 Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κούρα. But, even in Theocritus, Dione is identified with Aphrodite; cf. vii. 116 λιπόντες . . .

Οἰκεῦντα, ξανθᾶς ἕδος αἰπὺ Διώνας, Oeceus being a spot sacred to Aphrodite in the neighbourhood of Miletus. Thus, in the Roman poets the name Dione becomes a synonym for Venus, who is called *Dionaea mater* by Virgil *A.* iii. 19, cf. *Ecl.* ix. 47. Compare also Ovid, *F.* ii. 461 ; v. 309.

fulta sublimi throno: perhaps a reminiscence of Sappho's

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα.

In any case *throno* = *θρόνῳ* appears to be post-classical: cf. Plin. *H.N.* 35, 9, 36, § 63 *magnificus est et Juppiter eius in throno adstantibus deis*: and Suetonius, *Aug.* 70, quotes from an anonymous poet:

fugit et auratos Juppiter ipse thronos.

The idea is repeated in lines 61–2 *infra.*

7. The refrain as used here is said to be specially characteristic of Sicilian poetry. But it is found in all ages and in all kinds of Greek and Latin verse. So in the drama it is frequent in Aeschylus (*Agam.* 117 sqq. ; *Choeph.* 955 : *Eumen.* 1016 ; *Persae* 665, &c.) and for its use in comedy, see Aristophanes *Aves* 1731, *Pax* 1334. Theocritus employs it several times ; cf. i. 64 sq. and 125 sqq., ii. 16 sqq. ; and in direct imitation of Theocritus, Bion, *Epit. Adon.* αἰάζω τὸν Ἄδωνιν . . . ἐπαιάζουσιν ἔρωτες: Auctor, *Epit. Bion.* Ἄρχετε Σικελικαὶ τῷ πένθεος, ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι. For the refrain in Latin poetry, see Catullus, LXI. 4 sqq., LXII, 5 sqq., LXIV, 327 sqq. ; Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 21 sqq., and 68 sqq. ; Calpurnius, *Ecl.* xi. 19 sqq.

The sonorous simplicity of the refrain in the *Pervigilium*, with its two-fold repetition of the word 'to-morrow' and its four-fold repetition of the 'love' theme, defies translation into English. The most attractive rendering known to me is that by Sir T. H. Warren, sometime President of Magdalen College, Oxford:

Know'st thou love? To-morrow mind him! Know'st him not? To-morrow find him!

but the objection is the lack of emphasis on the word 'love'. Another attractive rendering is that by Mr. Hugh McNaghton, Vice-Provost of Eton (1928):

Loved you never? Love to-morrow! Loved you yesterday? Love on!

8 sqq. The idea of this stanza is taken from Virgil, *G.* ii. 324:

> Vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.
> Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
> Coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis
> Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

On this passage Conington comments: 'Some identify *Aether* and *Tellus* with Jupiter and Juno, and Virgil may have thought of the description in *Iliad* xiv. 346 sqq.; but the passage contains rather a poetico-physical than a theological view of the subject, and is evidently suggested by Lucretius i. 250:

> Pereunt imbres ubi eos pater Aether
> In gremium matris Terrai praecipitavit:

and idem, ii. 992:

> Omnibus ille idem [i. e. caelum] pater est, unde alma liquentis
> Umoris guttas mater cum Terra recepit.'

H. A. J. Munro, in a note on the former passage from Lucretius, writes: 'From the Vedas to the Pervigilium Veneris poets and philosophers love to celebrate this union of ether and earth, ether as the father descending in showers into the lap of mother earth': and he compares Lucretius v. 318 sqq.; Aeschylus, frag. of *Danaides*:

> ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
> ἔκυσε γαῖαν κτλ.;

also Euripides, *frag. inc.* DCCCXC. 9. 10:

> ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
> ὄμβρου πεσεῖν ἐς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.

9. **ut . . . crearet . . . fluxit**, 'he flowed, . . . in order that he might create'.

totum. There are three lines (cf. notes on 32 and 63) in which it is possible that the author of the Pervigilium used the word *totus* in the sense of the Italian *tutti* 'all': but unfortunately in all three passages there is doubt as to the correct reading. Here both MSS. read *totis*, which Bücheler (1859) accepts; and, if they are right, then *totis nubibus* must be construed as

equivalent to *omnibus nubibus* rather than in the strictly classical sense of 'the clouds in their entirety', although in this passage the two meanings merge easily into each other. There seems, however, to be no special point in insisting with so much emphasis that 'Ether quickened the year from the whole of the clouds': and it would certainly be more apt to say that 'Ether quickened the whole year from the clouds of spring'. Hence Saumaise (1637), followed by Heidtmann (1842), Bergk (1859), Abbé de Longuerue (1761), Schenkl (1867) and Mackail (1912), reads *totum*, which might easily, when written *totū*, be corrupted into *totis*.

Pithou (1577), with whom Lips (1580) and Weitzius ⟨1613⟩ agree, writes *pater roris*, the last-named commenting 'Pindarus Olymp. xiii. ὕδατα ὄμβρια nominat παῖδας νεφέλης, *aquas pluvias, nubis filias*'. No modern editor accepts this emendation.

uernus. As a spondee is not admitted to the 5th foot, I have adopted the emendation proposed by Pithou for *uernis*, the reading of ST. For *pater vernus* cf. Juvenal *Sat.* v. 78:

> fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
> Iuppiter.

Sanadon (1728) prefers to read *ueris*, which Bücheler (1859) and Mackail (1912) accept, the latter translating 'from the clouds of spring': it would be equally possible to translate 'the father of spring'.

annum. Probably two meanings of the word *annus* are here blent, viz. (*a*) 'a season of the year': cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 57, *nunc formosissimus annus*; Calpurnius, *Ecl.* v. 21 *viridisque renascitur annus*: (*b*) 'the produce of the year': cf. Lucan iii. 70:

> effusis magnum Libye tulit imbribus annum,

'bore a mighty harvest' see also Statius *Silv.* iii. 22.

11. Bücheler (1859) omits this line as a gloss adapted from Virgil, *G.* ii. 327, and takes special exception to the anapaest (*ălĕrĕt*) in the fifth foot. There is, however, a similar anapaest in the fifth foot of line 67; and, as a tribrach in the fifth foot would be admissible, I prefer to suggest that, upon the analogy of the prosody of Plautus and Terence, with a naturally short vowel in the final

syllable lengthening by position was neglected under the influence of popular accent. There appears to have been a tendency for every final syllable in Latin to be weakly articulated, especially so when the word-accent (as here, *ălĕrĕt*) was proparoxyton. See also note on line 73.

Other methods of dealing with the difficulty are (*a*) that of De la Monnoye (1716), who reads:

vultque fetus mixtus omnes *alere* magno corpore;

and (*b*) that of Mackail (1912), who supposes a lacuna, which he tentatively fills thus:

unde fetus < perque pontum perque caelum pergeret
perque terras > mixtus omnes alere magno corpore.

13 sqq. For the ideas pervading this stanza compare Ovid, *F.* iv. 61–2:

Sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum
Auguror: a spumis est dea dicta maris.

Also ibidem, 91–4 (speaking of Venus):

Illa quidem totum dignissima temperat orbem:
Illa tenet nullo regna minora deo:
Iuraque dat caelo, terrae, natalibus undis;
Perque suos initus continet omne genus.

tunc cruore de superno. T reads:

tuno quiuore de superhuc spumeo pont' [= pontus] de glouo.

S, which was discovered later, reads:

tunc cruore de superbo spumeo pontus globo.

Having only T before him, Scaliger (1578) emended as follows: *tunc liquore de superno spumeo ponti e globo*; while Pithou (1587) wrote: *Iuno rore de supernis spumeo ponti e globo.* Meanwhile, however, both Van der Does and Estaço had, in 1578, conjectured that *quiuore* was a mistake for *cruore*, an emendation confirmed by the subsequent discovery of S, and Lips (1580) wrote the line *tunc cruore de superno ac spumeo ponti e globo.*

It is clear that the author of the *Pervigilium* had in mind the passage in which Hesiod (*Theog.* 126–206) describes how Aphrodite was born from the

blood-drops (ῥαθάμιγγες αἱματόεσσαι), which, pouring from the wound inflicted on Heaven (Οὐρανός) by Kronos (Κρόνος), the son born to him by the Earth (Γαῖα), fell into the sea, where a white foam rose round them (ἀμφὶ δε λευκὸς ἀφρὸς ὥρνυτο), 'and therein a maiden grew. And first she came nigh unto holy Kythera, whence next she came to sea-girt Kypros.' And she came forth as a reverend goddess beautiful, and around her the grass waxed under her tender feet. Her do gods and men call Aphrodite, the foam-born and fair-crowned Kythereia; for that she was nurtured in foam (οὕνεκ' ἐν ἀφρῷ θρέφθη): and Kythereia because she had chanced upon Kythera'. In later time the share of Uranus in this mysterious birth was forgotten, and it became a commonplace both in Greek and Latin poetry to describe Aphrodite as born from the Sea: cf. Anacreontica 53, 30–32:

χαροπῆς ὅτ' ἐκ θαλάσσης
δεδροσωμένην Κυθήρην
ἐλόχευσε πόντος ἀφρῷ.

Therefore, I see no difficulty in accepting *spumeo pontus globo*, which is the reading of S, and I would translate: 'Then out of blood supernal (i. e. blood-drops fallen from on high) Ocean fashioned Dione in a ball of foam.' Mackail (1912), however, who in this respect agrees with J. Mähly (1865), prefers to make *Aether* (line 8) the subject of *fecit* (line 15), and is accordingly obliged to emend the second half of the line, after the manner of those editors who only had T before them, by reading *spumeo et ponti globo*. But is there any myth which makes Aether the parent of Venus? Certainly in Hesiod it is not Αἰθήρ (*Theog.* 124), but Οὐρανός (*ibidem* 126–7), whose mutilation causes the birth of Aphrodite.

14. **caerulas cateruas.** As *caerulus* is a regular epithet of the sea, the meaning is 'among troops of marine monsters': or perhaps F. Noel (1803) may be right when he comments: 'J'entends par-là, non pas le troupeau de Protée, mais les Néréïdes, que Sénèque appelle: *grex caeruleus Nereidum* (*Hipp.* v. 335)'.

bipedes equos: cf. Virgil, *G.* iv. 389:

magnum qui piscibus aequor
et iuncto bipedum curru metitur equorum:

on which passage Servius comments: *equi marini prima parte equi sunt, postrema resolvuntur in pisces.* This accounts for their having only two feet.

15. **fecit** (sc. *de cruore*): see note on line 3 for the construction *facere de*, 'make out of'.

undantem. The word *undare* is used of the graceful, 'undulating', gait of a woman by Appuleius, *Met.* ii. 7 (*Oud.*, p. 105), *ipsa [puella] decenter undabat.* Here the word has the additional meaning 'to rise in waves', 'to surge', 'to swell': cf. Virgil, *A.* xii. 673 *ad caelum undabat vortex*, and *ibidem*, vi. 218 *aëna undantia flammis.* For the construction *undare de*, 'to surge out of the waves', see note on line 3.

marinis imbribus. The reading is in doubt for two reasons: (*a*) because it is not unlikely that *de maritis imbribus*, the reading of ST, was inserted by mistake from line 3, especially as within the space of fifteen lines the phrase *maritus imber* recurs three times (cf. line 10); and (*b*) because of the awkwardness of the construction *de cruore fecit Dionen undantem de imbribus.* Bücheler (1859), therefore, supposes a lacuna after the words *fecit undantem Dionen*, and thinks it possible that Sanadon (1728) may be right in reading *in marinis fluctibus.* But he adds: 'Veri similius est additam fuisse aliam rem novam, vel epitheton Veneris, quia maris fluctus exquisitius versu 10 [i. e. in line 13 of my text] describuntur'.

Lips (1580) retains *maritis imbribus*, and comments '*maritos imbres* adpellat spumam et cruorem, sane quam eleganter', i. e. from the marriage of the two kinds of *imber*, viz. the blood-drops from above (*cruore superno*) and the sea (*spumeo ponti globo*). It is, of course, possible to use *imber* of blood, cf. Lucan vi. 224 (*stetit imbre cruento informis facies*, and Statius *Theb.* i. 437 *imber sanguineus*: but I am inclined to agree with Rivinus (1644) in correcting *maritis* to *marinis* and construing *imbribus* as meaning 'water' (i. e. the sea). Cf. Lucretius vi. 149:

ut ferrum . . .
stridit ubi in gelidum propere demersimus imbrem:

Ennius ap. Serv. ad Virg., *A.* xi. 299:

ratibusque fremebat
imber Neptuni:

Virgil, *A.* i. 228:

laxis laterum compagibus omnes [sc. naves]
accipiunt inimicum imbrem:

Ovid, *H.* xviii. 104:

et madidam siccas aequoris imbre comam.

The epithet *marinis* removes all doubt as to the meaning of *imbribus*, and the emendation obviates a third repetition of the phrase *maritus imber*. Wernsdorf (1782) also accepts *marinis*.

16. **ipsa**, 'ut Graecorum αὐτὸς, auctoritatis et principatum demonstrativum est': Wernsdorf (1782). The use of *ipsa* in this manner is characteristic of the poem: cf. lines 22, 23, 32, 38, 52, 53, 62, 70, 71, 75, 79, 80.

uenas, 'veins': then used metaphorically, cf. Cicero, *de Or.* i. 52, 223 *teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis* 'he must have his finger on the pulse (i. e. know the character) of each kind'. Similarly, Tacitus, *Dial. de Or.* 31, *orator tenebit venas animorum*. Then, by a further extension of the metaphorical meaning, it is often coupled with *viscera*, where we might use 'heart', 'innermost feelings': cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* iv. 11 *permanat in venas et inhaeret in visceribus illud malum*: idem, *Cat.* i. 13, 31 *erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus reipublicae*. I think, therefore, that *venas atque mentem* here means 'innermost feelings (heart) and mind': not as Mackail (1912) translates 'flesh and spirit', unless indeed *uenas* is used as in Martial iv. 66, 12; vi. 49, 2; xi. 16, 5 and Persius vi. 72, which I very much doubt.

permeanti spiritu: cf. Appuleius, *de Mundo*: *Quum credimus deum per omnia permeare*. Doubtless the author of the *Pervigilium* had in mind Virgil, A. vi. 726 sqq.:

principio caelum et terras camposque liquentes
lucentemque globum Lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

Compare Cicero, *Ac.* ii. 37, 119: *persuasum etiam solem, lunam, stellas omnes, terram, mare deos esse, quod quaedam animalis intelligentia per omnia ea permanet et transeat*. The Stoic *anima mundi* (πνεῦμα ἐνδιῆκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου) is here identified with Venus.

17. **procreatrix.** The word is classical: cf. Cicero, *de Or.* i. 3, 9 *philosophia artium procreatrix quaedam et quasi parens.*

18–20. 'Through heaven, earth and sea she has explored her all-pervading course along the seed-track', or 'by means of the seed-track'. For **inbuit tenorem** cf. Ovid, *A. A.* i. 654 *infelix imbuit auctor opus*: idem, *T.* iii. 11. 52:

Dixerat. At Phalaris 'poenae mirande repertor,
ipse tuum praesens imbue' dixit 'opus!'

Propertius iv. 10, 5:

Imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae:

cf. Virgil, *A.* vii. 541. *Imbuere* means 'to do for the first time', 'explore', 'set the example'. For **tenorem sui** cf. Livy xl. 54. 8 *cum multa adsoleat veritas praebere vestigia sui*: Seneca, *Q.N.* ii. 11. 1 (*aer*) *ima sui parte maxime varius est.* **seminali** is post-classical: cf. Columella xi. 2. 76 *viciae seminalis modios quinque.*

22. This line is either an imitation of, or was itself imitated by, Appuleius, *Met.* x. 29 (*Oud.* 734): 'Plane tenui specula solabor clades ultimas, quod uer in ipso ortu iam gemmulis floridis cuncta depingeret et iam purpureo nitore prata uestiret et commodum dirrupto spineo tegmine spirantes cinnameos odores promicarent rosae, quae me priori meo Lucio redderent'.

gemmis floridis. Both MSS. read *gemmis floribus*, which C.A.M. Axt (1829) defends, saying: 'Nihil obstat quominus sic construas et resolvas: ipsa annum floribus pingit, ut (quasi) gemmis purpuret.' Orelli (1831) agrees. Other editors either (*a*) follow Saumaise (1637) in reading *gemmeis* for *gemmis*, or (*b*) adopt Rigler's (1829) emendation of *floridis* for *floribus*. In my opinion Rigler's emendation is made certain by a comparison of the phrase *gemmulis floridis* in the passage from Appuleius above quoted. The word *gemma* is used in the double sense of (*a*) 'a jewel'; and (*b*) 'a bud'. For the latter meaning cf. Virgil, *G.* ii. 335 (*pampinus*) *trudit gemmas et frondes explicat omnes*: idem, *E.* vii. 48 *iam laeto turgent in palmite gemmae.*

purpurantem. The verb *purpurare* is post-classical: but cf. Appuleius, *Met.* x. 22 (*Oud.* 719) *labias ambroseo rore purpurantes*: ibidem, vi. 24 (*Oud.* 427) *Horae rosis et ceteris floribus purpurabant omnia*: Columella, x. 101 *viola*

quae frondens purpurat auro. Compare also Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 114 φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾷ.

23. **surgentes** is the reading of both MSS. Van der Does (1588) comments: 'Rectum puto *surgentes*, quod interpretor tumescentes ac sororiantes, et veluti strophio obnitentes, atque, ut cum Catullo dicam, *luctantes*'. Estaço (1578) and Pithou (1587), whom Mackail (1912) follows, emend *turgentes*—unnecessarily, as I think. For the construction *surgere de*, see note on line 3.

papillas. There is a play on the meanings (*a*) 'a nipple on the breast', and (*b*) 'the bud of a flower'.

Fauoni spiritu: cf. Lucretius i. 11 *genitabilis aura Favoni*, 'the birth-favouring breeze of Favonius'. See also Pliny, *H.N.* xvi. 25 (39) *incipiente vento Favonio, ex a. d. fere* vi *idus Febr. . . . hic est genitalis spiritus mundi a fovendo dictus, ut quidam existimavere.*

24. **urget in nodos tepentes.** S reads *in notos penates*, and T *in totos pentes.* Wernsdorf (1782) writes: 'Ego inhaerendum censeo Salmasianae lectioni, et *notos penates* interpretor corticem nascentis rosae, quem quasi domicilium suum magis magisque crescendo implet, usque dum pandat se, et in calathum abeat . . . *Noti* autem penates sunt sui vel apti a natura dari'. Similarly Frei (1854) and Bücheler (1859) retain the reading given in S. The former explains: 'Sie selbst drängt die durch des Südens Hauch schwellenden Blumenbusen in, oder gegen, die heimische Hülle.' The latter comments: 'Surgentes papillae, si urgentur in penates, non erupturae sunt ex penatibus, sed eos intraturae, velut hostes cum in oppidum et naves cum in brevia et acus cum in iecur urgentur'; i. e. presumably he construes 'she drives the buds into their well-known sheathes'. I cannot understand this, and I do not think that a satisfactory meaning can be extracted from the reading given in S. Emendation is, therefore, necessary; and conjectures vary according to the supposition (*a*) that *notos* is, or is not, nearer the true reading than *totos*, or (*b*) that *penates* is, or is not, nearer the true reading than *pentes.*

The most probable correction for *notos* is *nodos*, originally proposed by a friend of Schrijver (1638), and accepted by Bouhier (1737), Schenkl (1867), Bährens (1872), and Mackail (1912). This emendation is, to my mind, con-

firmed by a comparison of the lines, found in the Codex Salmasianus, and attributed to Florus (Riese, *Anth. Lat.* No. 87, p. 101):

> Venerunt aliquando rosae. Pro, ueris amoeni
> ingenium! Una dies ostendit spicula florum;
> altera pyramidas nodo maiore tumentes;
> tertia iam calathos; totum lux quarta peregit
> floris opus. Pereunt hodie, nisi mane legantur.

Here *spicula florum* is the equivalent for *surgentes papillae*, and the phrase *pyramidas nodo maiore tumentes* corresponds with *urget in nodos*. Compare also an epigram DE ROSIS contained in the Codex Salmasianus (Riese, *Anth. Lat.* No. 84. p. 100):

> O, quales ego mane rosas procedere vidi!
> Nascebantur adhuc: neque erat par omnibus aetas.
> Prima papillatos ducebat < spica > corymbos;
> altera puniceos apices umbone levabat;
> tertia non totum calathi patefecerat orbem;
> quarta simul nituit mutato tegmine floris.
> Dum levat una caput, dumque explicat altera nodum,
> huic dum virgineus pudor exsinuatur amictu,
> ne pereat, lege mane rosam. Cito virgo senescit.

I feel sure that the author of the *Pervigilium* in lines 23–36 is describing the four days' life of the rose; first, the 'nipple', or small bud entirely wrapped up in its leaves (compare *surgentes papillas* with *papillatos corymbos*); next, the buds grown larger (*nodo maiore tumentes*), and affording glimpses of the flower within (compare *puniceos apices umbone levabat* with *pudorem florulentae prodiderunt purpurae*); then the full blossom (*calathus*), freed from the mantle of green (compare *virgincus pudor exsinuatur amictu* with *virgineas papillas soluit umenti peplo*). Thereafter, on the morning (*mane*) of the fourth day, the rose is ready to be wedded, i.e. plucked.

Those editors who consider that *totos* in T conceals the true reading adopt the emendation *toros* proposed by Scaliger (1578) and Lips (1580). This may then be construed in one of two ways, viz. (*a*) *torus* may be translated in the same manner as *nodus*, 'a rose-bud'. So Scaliger explains 'torosas papillas

intelligit horridulas ex Favonii frigido flatu'. The meaning, in that case, of *torus* is 'bulge', or 'knot' as in trees: cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 17, 23, 35 § 211 *utile toros futuri draconis pasci*: and ibidem, 19, 8, 42 § 146 (*asparagus*) *in toros striatur*. Similarly the word is used of 'knotted' muscles: cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 2, 9, 22 *o lacertorum tori!* Virgil, *A.* xii. 7 *leo gaudet comantes excutiens cervice toros*. So Ribbeck (1859) who reads *urget in toros patentes*, translates: 'Die zarten Blüthenkeime werden zu geräumig sich entfaltenden und schwellenden Knospen aufgetrieben'.

(*b*) *torus* is by some editors given its common meaning 'a bed'. Thus Weitzius (1613) reads *unguet in toros tepentes*, and construes 'Venus anoints her bosom before pressing it upon the warm bed'. He compares Appuleius x. 21 (*Oud.* 716–19), and especially the phrase *ungento fraglantissimo prolubium libidinis suscitaram*. Rivinus (1644) agrees with this translation and paraphrases: 'Venerem surgentes, seu, ut Martialis vocavit, crescentes suas papillas nodis et strophiis coercuisse, vel etiam ipsam Venerem leni Zephyri flatu tumefactas papillas in toros tepentes unxisse, prout (Appuleii verbis) ungento fragrantissimo proluvium libidinis suscitatur. . . . Inde porro ipsa Diva, ut similiter et terram inungat, et veluti praegnantem faciat, roris lucidi, noctis aurâ relictas, guttulas foecundissimas undique spargit.' Similarly, Sanadon (1728), who conjectures *mulget in toros tepentes*, paraphrases: 'Répand les richesses de son sein sur les campagnes tapisées de gazon.' In my opinion, such ideas as these are wholly foreign to the general meaning of the passage.

For *penates* (S) or *pentes* (T) various emendations have been proposed, viz. *stupentes* Scaliger (1578), *tepentes* Lips (1580), *tenaces* a friend of Schrijver (1638), *rubentes* Bouhier (1737), *patentes* Ribbeck (1859), *feraces* Bährens (1872). The anonymous Leipzig edition of 1852 adopts the reading *urget in nodos tepentes*, commenting rightly, as I think, '*nodi tepentes* sunt tepore fragrantes florum caliculi, nondum reclusi. . . .'

> Sie auch hebt des Busens Wachsen unter Frühlingswindes Hauch
> Schwellend auf zu duft'gen Knospen'.

Mackail (1912), who accepts the same reading, translates: 'Herself coaxes swelling buds into warm clusters'. But I doubt whether *nodus* can mean 'a cluster': and in any case such a meaning seems to me out of place in this

passage. If *tepentes* is the true reading, then it must be assumed that the similarity between the syllables *te* and *pe* led to the omission of the former, and that a later copyist, noticing that *pentes* would not scan, mistakenly wrote *pen<a>tes.*

24–5. 'Herself sprinkles dripping wetness of the glittering dew that the night-air leaves as it passes': Mackail (1912).

26–7. 'Sparkling tears quiver in a heavy drip, the little splashing dew-bead holds together in its fall': Mackail (1912).

en! micant. Like Bücheler (1859), I have accepted the conjecture of E. C. F. Schulze (1812), who emends both line 26 and also line 29 to begin with *en!* Other emendations are *emicant* Estaço (1578) and *lacrimae micant trementes* Schrijver (1638).

lacrimae. As *ros* is frequently used of '*tears*', so here the word *lacrima* is used of 'dew-drops'. The transition is not difficult from such a passage as Ovid *M.* xiv. 708 *madidas lacrimarum rore coronas*, to *M.* x. 360 *tepido suffundit lumina rore*: cf. Horace *A.P.* 430 *stillabit amicis ex oculis rorem*, and Statius *S.* v. 1. 35 *citius Tithonida maesti deficient rores.* The two meanings are blent in Ovid *M.* xiii. 621:

luctibus est Aurora suis intenta, piasque
nunc quoque dat lacrimas et toto rorat in orbe:

where there is, doubtless, a suggestion of linguistic connexion between the words *Aurora* and *rorat* and a play upon the ideas of the weeping Goddess of the Dawn and the early morning dew. The word *lacrima*, like the Greek δάκρυον, is used also of exudations of plants and trees: cf. Virgil, *G.* iv. 160 *narcissi lacrimam*: Pliny *N. H.* xi. 6, 5, § 14 *melliginem e lacrimis arborum quae glutinum pariunt*: ibidem, xxiii. pref., 3, § 3 *lacrima vitium*: Herodotus ii. 96 τὸ δὲ δάκρυον (sc. τῆς ἀκάνθης) κόμμι ἐστί: Aristotle, *H. A.* ix. 40 ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τὰ δάκρυα. Pliny asserts that lilies are propagated by such 'tears', *N. H.* xxi. 5. 11, § 24 *alba lilia iisdem omnibus modis seruntur, quibus rosa, et hoc amplius lacrima sua.* English readers will be reminded of Milton, *Lycidas*: 'Daffodillies fill their cups with tears.'

trementes de pondere: see note on line 3.

27. Rivinus (1644) correctly paraphrases thus: 'Quum Venus imbrica roris

lucentis guttulas longe lateque mane diffuderit, emicant illae ad instar lacrimularum, urgente suo pondusculo tremulae, ut jam jam casurae videantur, et nihilominus tamen ob figuram orbicularem a casu retinentur.' Cf. Achilles Tatius vi. 7, 2 *χεομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν δακρύων ἅλμης περὶ τὸν κύκλον, τὸ μὲν < λευκὸν > πιαίνεται, τὸ δὲ μέλαν πορφύρεται, καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιον τὸ μὲν ἴῳ, τὸ δὲ ναρκίσσῳ· τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔνδον εἱλούμενα γελᾷ.*

29–30. Compare Fulgentius, *Mit.* i. 11, St., p. 605 :

ubi guttas florulentae
mane rorat purpurae
umor algens, quem serenis
astra sudant noctibus.

29. 'Lo, the petalled crimsons have unveiled their blush' : Mackail (1912) : **en** ! is a correction by Bouhier (1737) for *in* ST. Bouhier correctly explains : '*pudor* est ici la même chose que *rubor* . . . Demain, dit le Poëte, la divine rosée fera sortir ce bouton vermeil du fourreau qui l'enveloppe' : cf. line 35. With Bouhier, as in my text, line 29 commences a stanza.

30–1. 'The moisture that the stars distil on cloudless nights unfolds the maiden buds from their wet sheaths at daybreak' : Mackail (1912).

31. **uirgeneas** is the reading of ST, and there seems no sufficient reason to change this to *uirgines*, as was done by Lips (1580), whom many other editors follow.

peplo = *πέπλῳ*, post-classical : cf. notes on lines 6 and 92. For the idea compare lines 35–6 and the epigram DE ROSIS quoted in my note on line 24 *virgineus pudor exsinuatur amictu* : cf. also Ausonius, *Idyl.* vi. 27–30, who, describing roses, writes :

Haec aperit primi fastigia celsa obelisci,
mucronem absolvens purpurei capitis.
Vertice collectos illa exsinuabat amictus,
iam meditans foliis se numerare suis.

For the play on the word **soluit** see note on line 3 : cf. Catullus lxi. 53, speaking of Hymen :

tibi uirgines
zonula soluunt sinus.

32. **iussit . . . ut udae . . . nubant.** This is a brilliant conjecture by Jan van der Does, the Elder (1578), who had before him only the reading of T *mane tuac.* The probability of the emendation was strengthened by the subsequent discovery of S, which reads *manet tute,* UTUDAE being corrupted into TTUTAE. Mackail (1888) points out that elsewhere in the Pervigilium *iubere* is always followed by an infinitive, and he says that it is not Latin to write *iubere ut.* But, as S. G. Owen (1893) remarks, *iubeo ut,* although not very common, is perfectly good Latin: cf. Plautus *Amph.* i. 1. 50 *Telebois iubet sententiam ut dicant suam*: Cicero ii. *in Verr.* 4, 28 *hic tibi in mentem non venit iubere ut haec quoque referret HS* vi *milibus* IↃ *se tibi vendidisse*? Horace *S.* i. 4. 120 *sive iubebat ut facerem quid*: Livy 28, 36 *Magoni nuntiatum ab Karthagine est iubere senatum ut classem in Italiam traiceret.*

uirgines rosae: cf. Appuleius *M.* iii. 29 (*Oud.* 232): 'Hortulum perspexi in quo praeter ceteras gratas herbulas *rosae virgines* matutino rore florebant.' For the idea compare Nonnus, *Dion.* 12. 5:

ἀρτιφανὴς καὶ γυμνὸν ἀπ᾽ εὐόδμοιο καλύπτρης
εἰαριναῖς ἐγέλασσε λελούμενον ἄνθος ἑέρσαις
ζωογόνοις.

nubant. The meaning clearly is: 'Venus herself has bidden the roses to be dewy virgin brides at daybreak', i. e. to be ready to be plucked to-morrow. Lips (1580), however, construes *nubere* as equivalent to *velare* and paraphrases: 'Venus iussit, ait poëta, ut mane virgines tegant se ornentque udis ab humore noctis et quasi ebriis rosis', i. e. she ordered that the virgins should adorn themselves with roses. Equally wrongly, in my opinion, Sanadon (1728) comments: 'Se voilent, se couvrent; ce qui convient parfaitement bien aux roses, quand elles sont encore en bouton. C'est pourquoi le Poëte les appelle *virgines*': i. e. she ordered the virgin roses to remain veiled in their buds.

mane here means 'to-morrow morning', i. e. *cras mane* Terence, *Phorm.* iii. 2. 46: cf. Italian *domani.*

Orelli (1831), the anonymous Leipzig editor (1852) and Bücheler (1859) read *mane totae uirgines nubant*: and for this use of the word *totus* compare Calpurnius, *Ecl.* ii. 17 *per totos montes*: see my note on line 9. Scaliger (1578) emends *tutae*: and many editors transpose these lines in one way or another,

or suppose lacunae. But I have little doubt that Douza pater (1578) hit upon the true reading.

33–6. 'Made of Venus' blood and of Love's kiss and of jewels and of flames and of flushes of the sun, to-morrow the bride, married in one wedlock only, will not shrink from unfolding the crimson hidden by her fiery stole', i. e. to-morrow the rose will be full-blown and ready to be plucked.

33. **Paphies.** It is evident that *prius* in ST conceals a proper name: and I have suggested *Paphies*, because the rose was sacred to Paphian Venus: cf. Ausonius, *Idyl.* xiv. 21:

communis Paphie dea sideris et dea floris.

The corruption will then be accounted for by supposing that in FACTA PAPHIES the PA was omitted owing to the similarity with the preceding TA, the following P helping the mistake. H might easily be corrupted to R, and a copyist then 'corrected' *pries* to *prius*.

Schrijver (1638) alters *prius* into *Cypris*: and for *Cypris* as the genitive case Schulze (1812) quotes Pseudo-Gallus, *Eleg.* i. 92. Bücheler (1859) and Mackail (1912) read *Cypridis*. Schenkl (1867) writes *Cyprias*, and compares Tibullus iii. 3. 34:

et faveas concha, Cypria, vecta tua.

But the proper form of the genitive would be *Cypriae*. Owen (1893) reads *Veneris*.

facta **Paphies de cruore.** Schrijver (1638) comments: 'Quomodo rosa alba, purpurea et rubra facta sit, disce ex Aphthonii Progymnasmatis, cap. iv, et Constantino Caesare de R. R. lib. xi, cap. xviii. *Adonide occiso, aiunt, Venerem nudis pedibus ingressam esse silvam, ibique spinis compunctam emisisse cruorem. Inde rosam, quae prius esset alba, aspergine contactam coepisse rubere.* He refers also to Politian, *Miscellanea* cap. xi, and Brodaeus lib. vii, cap. vii and cap. x. A different account of how roses were born of blood is given in Bion, i. 64–6:

δάκρυα δ' ἁ Παφίη τόσσ' ἐκχέει, ὅσσον Ἄδωνις
αἷμα χέει· τὰ δέ πάντα ποτὶ χθονὶ γίνεται ἄνθη.
αἷμα ῥόδον τίκτει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τὰν ἀνεμώναν.

Hence Sanadon (1728), who also objects to the use of *de* (see note on line 3), suggests *Adonidis cruore*: while Lips (1580) reads *aprino* or *aprugno de cruore*, translating 'the blood flowing from the wound dealt by the boar' (*aper*), which killed Adonis: cf. Virgil *A.* ii. 436 *vulnere tardus Ulixi* 'wound dealt by Ulysses'. Yet another account of the birth of roses from blood, in this case Cupid's blood, is given under the title 'Cupido cruci affixus' by Ausonius, *Idyl.* vi. 75–7:

> Quaedam ignoscentum specie ludibria tantum
> sola volunt: stylus ut tenuis sub acumine puncti
> eliciat tenerum, de quo rosa nata, cruorem.

Cf. *ibidem* 88–92:

> Roseo Venus aurea serto
> maerentem pulsat puerum et graviora paventem.
> Olli purpureum mulctato corpore rorem
> sutilis expressit crebro rosa verbere, quae iam
> tincta prius, traxit rutilum magis ignea fucum.

deque Amoris osculis: cf. line 80, where Amor is said to be nurtured by the kisses of flowers.

34. **deque solis purpuris**: 'made of flushes of the sun.' Rivinus (1644) correctly observes: 'De solis coelesti ostro praesumendum est, quod, Venere lucem ferente, sub auroram adparet.' This is confirmed by a comparison with Ausonius, *Idyl.* xiv. 15–18:

> Ambigeres, raperetne rosis Aurora ruborem,
> an daret, et flores tingeret orta dies.
> Ros unus, color unus, et unum mane duorum:
> sideris et floris nam domina una Venus.

Bouhier (1737) agrees with Rivinus, 'qui a très-bien reconnu qu'il s'agissoit ici de l'éclat du Soleil naissant, et de la comparaison de la Rose avec l'Aurore vermeille'. Cf. Statius, *S.* iii. 3. 130 *verna purpura.* The words might also be construed 'made of purples only': but this is far less probable.

35. **ruborem**: see note on line 29.

ueste: see note on line 31.

ignea: probably an allusion to the *flammeum*, 'marriage veil', which was of a reddish-yellow colour like flame. It was of large dimensions, sufficient to cover the whole person from head to foot, and was worn over the head (see Rich, *Companion*, p. 290; Rossbach, *Röm. Ehe*, p. 280). Cf. Petronius 26, 1 *puellae caput involvere flammeo*: Martial ii. 78. 3 *flammea texuntur sponsae.*

36. **marita . . . non pudebit soluere**, 'the bride will not be ashamed to unfold'. For *pudeo* as verb finite, cf. Plautus, *Cas.* v. 2. 3 *ita nunc pudeo*: Terence, *Adelph.* 754 *non te haec pudent*: Lucan, viii. 495 *semper metuet quem saeva pudebunt.* This personal use is, however, rare: and accordingly Saumaise (1637) construes *marita* as the vocative case, explaining: 'Hic rosam ipsam adloquitur. Cras, inquit, o marita, . . . non pudebit te ruborem . . . solvere.' But I agree with Owen (1893) and Mackail (1912) in preferring the personal construction in this passage. Bährens (1873) quite unnecessarily changes *ruborem* in line 35 into *pudorem*, and then reads *rubebit* for *pudebit.*

unico marita uoto, 'the bride, married in one wedlock only'. I have adopted Bergk's (1859) emendation, which is also accepted by Bährens (1873) and Owen (1893). For *votum* in the sense of 'marriage vow, matrimonial engagement, marriage', cf. Justinian, *Cod.* v. 9. 4 *ad tertia uota migrare*; see *ibidem*, v. 5. 24; v. 1. 2. For the idea, compare Horace *C.* iii. 14. 5 *unico gaudens mulier marito*; and see Catullus lxi. 179–80. A woman who throughout life had only one husband was called by post-classical writers *univira*, cf. Tertullian, *Exhort. ad Castit.* 13; idem, *adv. Psych.* 8.

The reading of S is *unica marita noto*, and of T *unica marito nodo.* Pithou (1587) who retained *nodo* construed it as meaning 'the knot of the bride's girdle': cf. Varro in γεροντοδιδασκάλῳ, apud Nonium, *novus enim maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingulum*: idem, in St. Augustine, de Civ. Dei xi, *Virginensem Deam fuisse, cui virgines zonam solverent*: and compare Lucretius iv. 1146:

> validos Veneris perrumpere nodos
> difficile est.

On the other hand, Schrijver (1638), who also retains *nodo*, explains: 'Folia rosarum adhuc inter se connexa, necdum tota patentia, *nodos* vocat.' But, if *nodo* is retained, either in the sense of 'rose-bud' or in that of the 'knot of the

bride's girdle', it is difficult to give a satisfactory meaning to *unico*: hence Bouhier (1737), whom Wernsdorf (1782) and Mackail (1912) follow, reads *uvido marita nodo*, 'will unfold from the wet cluster' (Mackail).

Of editors who believe that *noto* S conceals the true reading, Schenkl (1867) emends *unico marita nota* 'bride, known to one husband only'; cf. Catullus lxi. 179 *senibus viris cognitae bene feminae*. Bücheler reads *unico Noto marita* 'married only to the South Wind', a very pretty idea, but the alteration involved in the MSS. is considerable.

38. **ire luco**, sc. *ad lucum*: cf. Virgil *A.* v. 451 *it clamor caelo*: ibidem, xi. 192:

it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.

40. **uexerit.** Saumaise (1637) comments: 'Idiotismus illius aevi quo vixit auctor Pervigilii: *vehere*, pro *ferre* et *gestare*': and he compares Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi, *anteriorum chlamydis partem utraque manu vehens.* But Saumaise was mistaken, as can be seen from Horace *S.* i. 1. 46–9, where *vehere* and *portare* are used as synonyms:

ut si
reticulum panis venales inter onusto
forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
qui nil portarit.

The arrows are, of course, in a quiver slung across the shoulder of Cupid, the *pharetratus puer* of Ovid *M.* x. 525.

41. **posuit arma**, 'he has laid down his arms'. *Ponere arma* was the technical term for 'to surrender': cf. Caesar *B. G.* iv. 37 *si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere iusserunt.*

42–3. For the idea, compare Tibullus, ii. 1. 81:

sancte, veni dapibus festis, sed pone sagittas,
et procul ardentes, hinc procul, abde faces.

42. **nudus.** Here, as in lines 45 and 68, there is a play on the meanings 'unarmed' and 'naked'. For *nudus* in the sense of 'unarmed' cf. Sallust, *J.* 107. 1 *in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus* (i. e. his defenceless back) *ad*

hostes vortere; Livy v. 45. 3 *nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur.*

45. **est in armis totus idem.** *In* means 'arrayed in', 'equipped with': cf. Virgil *A.* iii. 595 *patriis ad Troiam missus in armis*; Ovid *M.* xii. 65 *inexpectatus in armis hostis adest.*

S reads *totus est inermis sidem* and T *totus est inermis idem.* Frei (1854) accepts the reading of T and explains: 'Amor ist, auch ohne seine Waffen (*inermis*), doch ganz derselbe (gefährliche Amor), *quando nudus est.*' Similarly, Mackail (1912), who also retains the reading of T, translates: 'Love naked is complete, Love unarmed is the same', i. e. he apparently construes: 'Amor, quando nudus est, totus est: inermis idem est (sc. totus est).' But the plain meaning of the text in T is: 'Love, when naked, is defenceless'; and this is the exact reverse of the meaning which the author intends to convey. Accordingly Pithou (1577) conjectured *in armis* for *inermis*, and this is accepted by most editors, e. g. Bücheler (1859) and Owen (1893). It follows, as Saumaise (1637) and Schrijver (1638) pointed out, that—a spondee not being admissible in the third foot—the words must be transposed to read *est in armis totus idem.* A mistake of the kind might easily have occurred owing to inadvertent omission of the word *totus* by a copyist, who afterwards noticing his mistake inserted the word in the left hand margin, at the side of the line, with a mark indicating its proper position. A subsequent copyist then carelessly wrote *totus* as the first word in the line. Saumaise correctly explains: 'Cavete, nymphae, vobis ab inermi et nudo quoque Cupidine. Quod enim pulcher est, totus est armatus, etiam cum armis exutus et nudus est. Nam pulchritudo illi satis valida armatura, quam utique pro face et telo habet.' Rivinus (1644) suggests the emendation *totus haud inermis idem*, which will, of course, give the same meaning as the emendation proposed by Schrijver.

47. **Conpari pudore.** I understand this to mean 'With her own shy blushes', i. e. the nymphs are as bashful in bringing the request as Venus was in making it. Owen translates: 'O Diana, Venus sends to you maids as modest as yourself.' This does not seem to me as good.

48. **uirgo Delia**, sc. Diana: cf. line 59. In classical Greek literature Apollo is called ὁ Δήλιος, as having been born in Delos (Δῆλος), a small island in the

Aegean sea: cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 704; Thucydides, i. 13. But, according to the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, 16, Artemis (the Roman Diana) was not born with Apollo in Delos, but in Ortygia (Ὀρτυγία, ancient name of Ephesus: cf. Pliny *N. H.* v. 115); and Theognis, 5–10, as well as Callimachus (hymn to Delos, *ad fin.*) seem to speak of Delos as the birthplace of Apollo only. Pindar, however, in a προσόδιον to Delos (fr. 64, 65 Bergk, cited by Strabo, 485), μυθεύεται ἐνταῦθα ἡ Λητὼ τὰς ὠδῖνας ἀποθέσθαι τοῦ τε Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος: and a passage in Arrian (ap. Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 525) Δῆλος ἡ πάλαι πλωτὴ οὖσα ἔστη ὅτε ἡ Λητὼ ἐπέβη αὐτῆς διδύμους ἔχουσα παῖδας (cf. Ennius ap. Varr. *L. L.* vii. 16), show that the other version, which represented Leto as giving birth to twins—Apollo and Artemis—in Delos was equally accredited, though perhaps of later origin. In Roman poetry *Delia* is used regularly as a synonym for Diana: e.g. Horace *C.* iv. 6. 33 *Deliae tutela deae*; Virgil, *E.* vii. 29; Ovid, *H.* xx. 95. She is patroness of virginity; cf. Catullus xxxiv. 1–11:

Dianae sumus in fide
puellae et pueri integri:
Dianam pueri integri
puellaeque canamus.
O Latonia, maximi
magna progenies Iovis,
quam mater prope Deliam
deposivit olivam,
montium domina ut fores
silvarumque virentium
saltuumque reconditorum
amniumque sonantum.

49. **nemus.** The Roman Diana was particularly associated with woodlands; cf. Virgil, *A.* iii. 681; and Servius on Virgil, *G.* iii. 332 *omnis quercus Iovi est consecrata, et omnis lucus Dianae.* Hence her name *Nemorensis* at Aricia (now called Nemi): cf. Propertius ii. 32. 10; iii. 22. 25; Ovid, *F.* iii. 263 sqq. Virgil calls her *nemorum cultrix* (*A.* xi. 557), Horace *nemorum custos* (*C.* iii. 22. 1) and *silvarum potens* (*C. S.* 1), Catullus *domina silvarumque viren-*

tium saltuumque reconditorum (xxxiv. 8–10). For Diana as 'Queen and huntress, chaste and fair' (Ben Jonson), cf. Ovid, *M.* ii. 454 *dea venatrix*: Juvenal, *S.* xiii. 80. She is patron goddess of the chase.

incruentum de stragibus: for the use of *de* see note on line 3.

50. 'So that the woodland may trace green shadows over the fresh flowers.' This verse stands in S as line 58 and in T as line 57. So placed it has no meaning. This was first pointed out by Schrijver (1638), who writes: 'Inconcinna mihi haec, et frigida admodum cum praecedentibus et sequentibus connexis, valdeque a lepore hujus Poëtae aliena videtur.' I agree with the anonymous Leipzig editor (1852) in transposing the verse to follow line 39 in ST. Other editors who adopt this course are O. Müller (1855), Göbbel (1858), Bücheler (1859), Piazza (1889), Owen (1893), and Mackail (1912).

52. The omission of this line by the copyist of T was doubtless due to the fact that two successive lines begin with the words *ipsa uellet* and that the copyist's eye caught the wrong line. This is additional proof, if such were needed, that Saumaise (1637) was right in correcting *uellit erogare*, the reading of S in this line, to *uellet te rogare.*

53. **uirginem**: see note on line 48. Diana, being herself a virgin goddess, was patroness of virginity: cf. Virgil, *A.* xi. 582–4:

> sola contenta Diana
> aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
> intemerata colit.

Of Venus, on the other hand, it is said in Musaeus, 143:

> παρθένον οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ὑποδρήσσειν Ἀφροδίτῃ,
> παρθενικῆς οὐ Κύπρις ἰαίνεται.

The Roman comic poets base the plots of some of their plays upon misconduct occurring during nocturnal festivals (*pervigilia*): cf. Plautus, *Aulul.*, prolog., 35, *illam stupravit noctu, Cereris vigiliis*; idem, *Cistell.*, prolog. 8; Gellius, *N. A.* ii. 23. 14 *filia hominis pauperis pervigilio vitiata est.* Accordingly Cicero, *de leg.* ii. 9, condemns these *nocturna sacra* and proposes to enact *nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunto*, adding (*ibidem*, ii. 14) *quod autem mihi displiceat in sacris nocturnis poetae indicant comici.*

54. **tribus . . . noctibus.** Mackail (1912) says that the *trinoctium* of Venus, for which the Pervigilium was written, or rather, by which it was suggested, 'was in its origin a popular festival, and became under the Empire an organized observance in the established State religion'. The *festum Veneris Verticordiae et Virilis Fortunae* was celebrated during the first three days and nights of April. Similarly, Horace (*C. S.* 21–4) writing of the *ludi saeculares*, which were celebrated during the first three days and nights of June, says:

certus undenos deciens per annos
orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
ter die claro totiensque grata
nocte frequentes.

feriantes is the correction by Schrijver (1638) of *feriatis*, ST. Most editors, however, adopt *feriatos*, the emendation of Pithou (1577). Either is possible; but I prefer the former, for (as Schrijver observes) 'non rogatur Diana, aut invitatur, trinoctio et pervigilio triduano iam finito'.

55. **congreges.** The word is post-classical: cf. Appuleius, *M.* vii. 16 (*Oud.* p. 475) *equinis armentis congregem me pastor permisit*; Ausonius, *Ep.* x. 21:

congrege vulgo
angustas servare vias.

56. **floreas inter coronas.** For the idea compare Appuleius, iv. 29 (*Oud.* p. 303), *iamque per plateas commeantem* [sc. *Venerem alteram*] *populi frequenter floribus sertis et solutis adprecantur*: also Lucretius, ii. 626–8:

sternunt iter omne viarum
largifica stipe ditantes ninguntque rosarum
floribus umbrantes matrem comitumque catervas.

myrteas casas: see note on line 5.

47. **nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt.** It is probable that the author of the *Pervigilium* had in mind the proverb, quoted by Terence (*Eun.* iv. 5. 6), and from him by Cicero (*N. D.* ii. 23. 60), who writes: 'fruges Cererem appellamus, vinum autem Liberum, ex quo illud Terentii—

sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.'

poetarum deus, i. e. Apollo. Contrast line 93. For a similar juxtaposition of poetry, bread, wine, and love, the modern reader may compare Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyám, *Rubáiyát* xii:

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

58. The text of this line in both MSS. is corrupt. They read:

S. detinente tota nox est peruiclanda canticis
T. detinent et tota nox est peruigila canticis

Bücheler (1859) and Owen (1893) adopt from Heinsius the emendation **detinenda**, and with this single change the text of S gives a good sense. Bücheler prints it thus:

detinenda tota nox est, peruiglanda canticis.

Detinere means 'to while away': cf. Ovid, *T.* v. 7. 39 *detineo studiis animum falloque dolores*: idem, *ex P.* iv. 10. 67 *detinui, dicam, tempus curasque fefelli.*

peruiglanda = *peruigilanda.* The contraction from *vigilare* to *viglare* foreshadows the Italian *vegliare*, and preceded the change to the French *veiller*, the rule being that in French *g* before *l* disappears, becoming vocalized into *y*: cf. *strigula—strigla—étrille.* This particular contraction appears to be post-classical, but the contracted forms *puertia, lamna, surpuerat, caldior*, and *soldo* are found in Horace. Saumaise (see Introd., p. 21 *supra*) remarks: 'Sic *vigla* pro *vigilia*, unde *βίγλαι* Graecis barbaris.' Owen, however, considers the contracted form highly objectionable and conjectures:

detinenda nocte tota est peruigilia canticis.

In that case *peruigilia* must be construed as fem. sing.: cf. Justinian 24. 8. 14 *fames et lassitudo super haec maximum peruigiliae malum.* Similarly I had conjectured (1911):

detinenda est tota noctis peruigilia canticis.

But, upon further reflection, I cannot see how, if the archetype read *peruigilia*, the corruption *peruiclanda* could have been found in S: whereas, if the arche-

type read *peruiglanda*, a marginal or superscribed gloss, explaining that *uigla* stood for *uigila*, might easily result in *peruigila*, the reading of T.

The readings *detinente* S and *detinent et* T have been variously emended. Saumaise (1637), followed by Wernsdorf (1782) and Mackail (1912), read *de tenente*, i. e. *de uno tenore*, comparing the French phrase *d'un tenant* 'continuously'. But I cannot find authority for such a phrase in Latin. Somewhat similarly Schenkl (1867), with whom Bährens (1872) agrees, reads *detinenter*: but no such adverb apparently exists in Latin. More plausibly Prasch (1666) followed by De la Monnoye (1716), Sanadon (1728), and Bouhier (1737), read *te sinente*. Orelli (1831) conjectures *detine te*, construing 'morare ubi es; noli accedere': and this is accepted by Frei (1854). But I prefer the emendation proposed by Heinsius.

59. **Dione**: see note on line 6.

Delia: see note on line 48.

61. **Hyblaeis.** See note ix headed 'The three towns called Hybla' in the Appendix to the first volume of Freeman's *History of Sicily* (pp. 512–17). Unfortunately the passages in Pausanias (v. 23. 4) and Stephen of Byzantium (Ὕβλαι), from which our information on the subject of the three Sicilian towns called Hybla is chiefly derived, are both very corrupt. Freeman adopts the emendations of both passages proposed by Schubring (Umwanderung 452; Holm i. 362), and Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) will then read: δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ὕβλαι, ἡ μὲν Γερεᾶτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δέ, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ἐκάλουν μείζονα. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐν τῇ Καταναίᾳ, ἡ μὲν ἐρῆμος ἐς ἅπαν, ἡ δὲ κώμη τε Καταναίων ἡ Γερεᾶτις, καὶ ἱερόν σφισιν Ὑβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν ἔχον τιμάς. The passage from Stephen of Byzantium as emended by Schubring reads: Ὕβλαι. τρεῖς πόλεις Σικελίας, ἡ μείζων ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὑβλαῖοι Μεγαρεῖς, ἡ μικρὰ ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ὕβλαῖοι Γαλεῶται, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων Ἡραία καλεῖται. Freeman then identifies these three towns as follows:

(*a*) Ὕβλα μείζων 'is the same as Megara, or was represented by Megara, or perhaps in the end represented Megara', a town on the east coast of Sicily about half-way between Katanê and Syracuse. 'It was certainly in being in Roman times, when it struck coins, bearing the head of the goddess Hybla on one side, and a bee on the other. The bee is enough to show that they

belong to a Hybla near the *Hyblaei montes*, and not to the Geleatic Hybla at Paternò.' Evidently therefore Hybla Major was the town which was famous in antiquity for its flowers and its bees, and which is alluded to by Virgil, *E.* i. 54:

saepes
Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta:

ibidem, vii. 37: Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae:

Martial xi. 42. 3: Mella iubes Hyblaea tibi vel Hymettia nasci.

Sir J. G. Frazer points out that Pliny (*H. N.* iii. 91) speaks of Hybla as if it existed in his time, and that, if Pliny was not mistaken, we must suppose either that he meant one of the other towns called Hybla, or that between the time of Pliny (*obiit* A. D. 79) and the time of Pausanias (*flor. circ.* A. D. 180) Hybla Major had been abandoned.

(*b*) Ὕβλα Γερεᾶτις (presumably the same as Ὕβλα ἡ Γελεᾶτις in Thucydides vi. 62 and as Ὕβλα ἡ μικρά in Stephen of Byzantium) was situated on the southern slope of Aetna, a short distance from the left bank of the Symaethus (Giaretta). Freeman writes: 'It seems now pretty well agreed to fix the Geleatic Hybla at Paternò. So say Schubring, Holm and others. That Paternò represents one of the Hyblas is shown by an inscription found there and now preserved at Catania, VENERI VICTRICI HYBLENSI. That is to say, among other Greek imaginings, the local goddess got identified with the Greek Aphroditê. And there is every reason to believe that the Hybla at Paternò is the Geleatic Hybla, the Lesser Hybla, the Hybla of Thucydides (vi. 62), Diodôros (xi. 88), Livy (xxvi. 21), and Plutarch (*Nik.* 15). The last writer speaks of it as πολίχνιον μικρόν. Livy seems to class it among *ignobiliores terrae* as opposed to Morgantia. . . . Paternò distinctly answers the description of Thucydides (vi. 94) in that it lay between Katanê and Centuripa, and also that of Pausanias that it was in the Katanaian territory. The odd thing is that Pausanias places the Greater, the Megarian, Hybla also in the Katanaian territory. It may have been so in his day.'

(*c*) Ὕβλα Ἡραία or Ὕβλα ἡ ἐλάττων was situated on the right bank of the river Hyrminos (Ragusa) about fifteen miles inland and half-way between

the coast towns Kamarina and Helôron in the south-east corner of Sicily. Freeman says: 'The third Hybla, the Heraian, the Less than the Lesser, seems to be satisfactorily placed by Schubring (*Historisch-geographische Studien*, p. 109) at the Sicilian Ragusa.'

It seems clear that the author of the *Pervigilium* refers to Hybla Gereatis, for (*a*) at the time he wrote Hybla Major probably no longer existed; (*b*) the reference to Aetna in line 64 is particularly appropriate in the case of a town situated on the slopes of that mountain; and (*c*) the inscription found at Paternò identifying the Ὑβλαία θεός of Pausanias with *Venus Victrix Hyblensis* shows that Hybla Gereatis was a most suitable town for the tribunal of Venus.

tribunal, a raised semicircular or square platform, on which the seats of magistrates were placed. So here the 'judgement seat', where Venus *fulta sublimi throno* (line 6) presides over the Love Sessions, with the Graces and Nymphs as her assessors, and declares her laws (*iura dicet*).

stare floribus, 'to stand out with (be thick with; full of) flowers': cf. Virgil, *A.* vi. 300 *stant lumina flamma*; ibidem xii. 408 *iam pulvere caelum stare vident*; Horace, *C.* i. 9. 1 *vides ut alta stet nive candidum Socrate.*

62. **praeses**, 'president': here also with the idea of 'protecting deity': cf. Tacitus, *H.* iv. 53 *di praesides imperii.*

iura dicet, 'she will lay down the law', 'pronounce judgement': cf. Virgil, *A.* i. 292:

> cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
> iura dabunt.

Ibidem, i. 507 *iura dabat legesque viris.*

adsidebunt, 'will be assessors', a technical term of judicial language: cf. Tacitus, *A.* ii. 57. 4, *post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando adsideret, atrox et dissentire manifestus,*

Gratiae. For similar association of the Graces and the Nymphs with Venus, compare Horace, *C.* i. 4. 5–7:

> iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
> iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
> alterno terram quatiunt pede.

63. It is possible to construe both *totos*, which is the reading of T, and *totus*, which is the reading of S. If *totos* is correct, the passage means 'Hybla, pour out all thy flowers', the word being used in the sense of the Italian *tutti*: see note on line 9. On the other hand, it is possible to retain *totus*, delete the comma after *flores*, and construe 'Hybla, pour out thy flowers, whatsoever the whole season has brought'. I am, however, confident that *totos* is right, and in this view almost all editors of the poem concur.

quidquid. Orelli (1831) compares Iulius Firmicus Maternus *C.* 7, p. 31 *hic invenies quidquid hyacinthi turget in caulem.* The word is also thrice used, as here, by Fulgentius, Mit. 1. 12, St. 606, e. g.:

quidquid exantlata gazis
uestra promunt horrea.

64. *Subde uestem* is a combination of the conjectures of Schrijver and Lips for *superestem* S and *rumpereste* T. Lips (1580) was the first to see that *restem* should be corrected into *uestem*: while Schrijver (1638) conjectured that the *rum* of *rumpe* in T was a mistaken repetition of the last syllable in *florum*. Thus . . . *pe* in T would stand for *supe* in S, which Schrijver then emended to *subde*. Schenkl (1867) explains the origin of S thus: *subdeuestem, subteruestem, supteruestem, superuestem, superestem.* In T, the last syllable of *florum* being repeated, we get *florum rum peres* (as in S) and *te* for *tē* (= *tem*). L. Müller (1861) also accepts *subde uestem*, 'spread a carpet of flowers beneath our feet'.

Some editors, notably Pithou (1577), Scaliger (1578), and Longuerue (1761), with whom Owen (1893) appears to agree, retain *restem* or else read *restes*, 'a rope of flowers'. In that case the reference would presumably be to the game of the Roman youth, in which rows of dancers were united by taking hold of a rope: cf. Terence, *Ad.* iv. 7. 34 *tu inter eas restem ductans saltabis*: Livy, 27. 37 *in foro pompa constitit; et per manus reste data virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt.* But neither *rumpe restes*, adopted by Scaliger, nor *subde restem*, suggested but not adopted by Owen, seems to me to give a satisfactory meaning. Other emendations, such as *rumpe mensem* Prasch (1666) and *sparge messem* Ribbeck (1859). involve unnecessary alteration of the MSS.; while, if **sume uestem**, proposed by Crusius, and adopted by

Bücheler (1859) and Mackail (1912) is correct, it is difficult to account for the corruption.

Aetnae: Estaço and Lips, whom Mackail follows, conjectured *Ennae* (more correctly *Hennae*), i. e. the modern Castro Giovanni in the centre of Sicily. But, as none of the three Sicilian towns called Hybla was situated anywhere near Castro Giovanni, while Hybla Gereatis was situated on the southern slopes of Aetna, it seems to me that Pithou's emendation *Aetnae* is certainly correct. Scaliger, Sanadon, Ribbeck, Bücheler, and Owen adopt it. Cicero (*in Verr.* ii. 3. 18) writes: *Aetnensis vero ager qui solebat esse cultissimus*: and Strabo (vi, p. 274), speaking of the country round Etna, says, ἔστι δὲ ψιλὰ τὰ ἄνω χωρία καὶ τεφρώδη καὶ χιόνος μεστὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος, τὰ κάτω δὲ δρυμοῖς καὶ φυτείαις διείληπται παντοδαπαῖς. Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 8. 14, § 88 remarks, *mons Aetna, nocturnis mirus incendiis, crater eius patet ambitu stadia viginti.* But here the reference is probably, not so much to the mountain, as to the small town called Aetna, of which Strabo (*loc. cit.*, p. 273) observes, πλησίον δὲ τῶν Κεντορίπων ἐστὶ πόλισμα ἡ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν λεχθεῖσα Αἴτνη τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος δεχομένη καὶ παραπέμπουσα· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀκρωρείας.

65. **puellae,** i. e. Nymphae: cf. Virgil, *E.* x. 9 *puellae Naides*; idem, *E.* v. 59 *Dryadasque puellas.*

ruris puellae: 'country nymphs', i. e. ἀγρονόμοι Νύμφαι: cf. Homer, *Od.* vi. 105:

> τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
> ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι.

uel, 'and indeed also': an unusual use of the word. Even in classical Latin *uel . . . uel* occurs, with disjunctive force much weakened and almost equivalent to *et . . . et*: cf. Cicero, *Rep.* i. 3. 4 *in mediocribus vel studiis vel officiis vel vero etiam negotiis*; idem, *Fam.* 2. 7. 2 *vel spectator laudum tuarum vel particeps vel socius vel minister consiliorum*: idem *de Or.* 2. 1. 3 *quemadmodum ille vel Athenis vel Rhodi se doctissimorum hominum sermonibus dedisset.*

puellae montium, i. e. Oreades (Ὀρειάδες): cf. Bion, i. 17 καὶ Νύμφαι κλαίουσιν Ὀρειάδες: Virgil, *A.* i. 500 *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades*: Calpurnius, *E.* iv. 136 *per iuga velox currit Oreas.*

66. The first half of the line refers to the Dryades and the second half to

the Naiades. The Dryad was a nymph whose life was bound up with that of her tree, and particularly the oak-tree (δρῦς): cf. Plutarch, *Caes.* 9. 2, 711 E *νύμφην Δρυάδα*: and see Ovid *M.* viii. 741–6 sqq.:

> Ille etiam Cereale nemus violasse securi
> dicitur et lucos ferro temerasse vetustos.
> Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus,
> una nemus. Vittae mediam memoresque tabellae
> sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.
> Saepe sub hac Dryades festas duxere choreas.

For the Naiades (Ναιάδες), or Naïdes (Ναΐδες), cf. Homer, *Od.* xiii. 104:

> ἱρὸν νυμφάων, αἳ νηϊάδες καλέονται

Ovid, *M.* xiv. 327–8, *illum fontana petebant numina Naïades*: Calpurnius, *E.* iv. 134–5 *fonte lavatur Naïs.* For the whole passage compare Homer, *Od.* vi. 123–4:

> νυμφάων, αἳ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα
> καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.

67. **pueri mater alitis,** i. e. Venus, mother of winged Cupid. For *ales* as an adjective cf. Cicero, *N. D.* 2. 44 *ales avis* as translation of Aratus, *Phoen.* 275 *αἰόλος ὄρνις*: Ovid, *M.* 2. 714 *ales deus,* i. e. Mercury. For *puer ales,* i. e. Cupid: cf. Virgil, *A.* i. 663 *aligerum Amorem,* and the description of Ἔρως in Anacreontica 31. 16 sqq.:

> βρέφος μὲν
> ἐσορῶ, φέρον δὲ τόξον
> πτέρυγάς τε καὶ φαρέτρην.

Bücheler (1859) here again takes exception to the anapaest (*pŭĕrī*) in the 5th foot, and removes it by reading *mater alitis dei.* Mackail (1912) agrees. But, as explained in my note on line 11, I do not think that emendation is required; and, in view of *puellas* in line 68, I think *pueri* is preferable as giving a more marked antithesis.

68. **et nudo,** sc. *etiam nudo,* 'even when naked': cf. line 45. For this use of *et* cf. Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 2. 21, § 51 *hostis, et hostis, in ceteris rebus nimis ferus et immanis, tamen honorem hominis deorum religione consecratum violare noluit*: Nepos, *Milt.* 3. 4 *id, et facile, effici posse.*

70 sqq. The sequence of thought between this stanza and the one preceding appears to be as follows: 'Venus bids her maidens beware of her son Cupid. Nevertheless it was Venus who gave Lavinia to her son Aeneas, who betrayed Rhea Silvia to Mars, and who instigated the rape of the Sabines. As, however, from these acts of Venus the Roman nation and the house of Caesar took its origin, worship is properly her due from Roman maids and matrons.' The material for this stanza was probably suggested by Ovid, *F.* iv. 133:

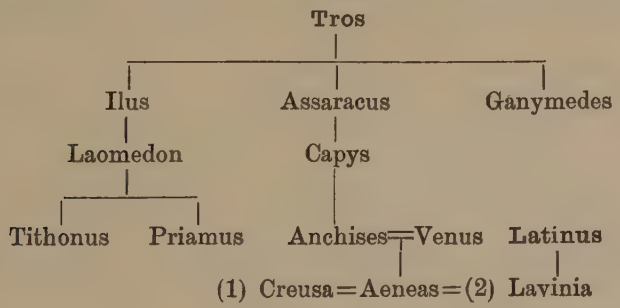
Rite deam (sc. Venerem) Latiae colitis matresque nurusque.

Ibidem, 77–8: Serus ab Iliacis, et post Antenora, flammis
Attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos.

Ibidem, 35–40: Proximus Anchises, cum quo commune parentis
Non dedignata est nomen habere Venus.
Hinc satus Aeneas, pietas spectata per ignes,
Sacra patremque umeris, altera sacra, tulit.
Venimus ad felix aliquando nomen Iuli,
Unde domus Teucros Iulia tangit avos.

Ibidem, 55–8: Placet Ilia Marti,
Teque parit, gemino iuncte Quirine Remo.
Ille suos semper Venerem Martemque parentes
Dixit, et emeruit vocis habere fidem.

70. **Troianos . . . Latinos.** The pedigree of Aeneas was as follows:



nepotes. The above table shows that Aeneas was the great-great-grandson of Tros. Therefore the word *nepotes* in ST gives a perfectly good meaning; and the ingenious emendation *penates*, proposed by Rivinus (1644) and adopted by Bouhier (1737), Bücheler (1859), and Bährens (1872), is unnecessary.

71. **Laurentem puellam**, i. e. Lavinia, so called as having been betrothed to Turnus of Laurentum (cf. Virgil, *A.* vii. 650

quo pulchrior alter
Non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni)

before becoming the wife of Aeneas. Laurentum was a maritime town in Latium, between Ostia and Lavinium. It is the modern Torre Paternò.

nato, i. e. Aeneas.

71–5. Both MSS. give these lines in the following order:

ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit:
moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam virginem.
Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,
unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

The sequence of thought in this passage, so written, is apparently most confused: 'Venus gave Rhea Silvia to Mars and the Sabines to the Romans. Thence were begotten the Ramnes and Quirites as well as Rhea Silvia and Caesar.' Such confusion of ideas is impossible; and the only satisfactory defence of the text of ST, as it stands, is that offered by an anonymous German scholar, writing in 1872 over the initials 'G. F.', who refers the words *Romuli matrem*, not to Rhea Silvia, but to the mother of Romulus Augustulus, and the words *nepotem Caesarem*, not to Caius Julius Caesar, but to Julius Nepos, the emperor who immediately preceded Romulus Augustulus. This ingenious theory has been discussed fully in the Introduction (see p. 55–7); and those who adopt it must, of course, date the *Pervigilium* in or about March, 476 A. D. Editors who do not accept this theory have one of three courses open to them: (*a*) They may retain the order of lines in ST, but emend some of the words; (*b*) They may transpose the lines; or (*c*) They may expunge one of the lines as spurious.

(*a*) Lips (1580) reads :

proque prole posterûm
Romoli, patrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

He then comments as follows : ' Sententia non dubie in gratiam Augusti ; Venus, inquit, conciliatrix fuit Romanorum Sabinarumque nuptiis, ut ex iis Rhamnes et Quirites crearet, et in postera saecla utrumque Caesarem, patrem cum nepote.' In that case, as Schrijver (1638) remarks, '*Pater Caesar* Divus Julius est, et *nepos Caesar* Augustus '. Pithou (1587) and Wernsdorf (1782) agree. But Schrijver himself, seeing that both MSS. read *matrem*, prefers to emend :

perque prolem posteram
Romuli, Mater creavit et nepotem Caesarem.

He comments : ' *Mater* est ipsa Venus.' Frei (1854) also accepts *mater* : but, following A. Möbius (1816), reads *te* for *et* and retains *crearet*, which is the reading of both MSS. Sanadon (1728) emends :

proque prole postera
Romoli, Patres creavit et nepotes Caesares :

' ita existimans auctorem quatuor verbis omnes reipublicae ordines designasse, per *Quirites* populum, per *Ramnes* equites, per *Patres* senatum, et denique *Caesares*.' Somewhat less improbable is the suggestion of Schenkl (1867) that *Romoli* ST is repeated by mistake from *Romuleas* at the beginning of the last line but one preceding, and that *nepotem Caesarem* refers to Gordianus III, the nephew of Gordianus I, of whose daughter he was the son. This theory also is fully discussed in the Introduction (see pp. 54–5). If accepted, it would date the Pervigilium in, or about, March, A. D. 239, and Schenkl would substitute *Caesaris* for the word *Romoli*. Mähly (1865), holding a similar view as to the genesis of the corruption in ST, proposes to read :

moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem,
Romuli matrem : ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,
unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
< Caesarem patrem > crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

J. B. Bury (1905) accepts *mater*, and remarks that ' nothing was more likely

than that *mater* should be altered to *matrem*, through failure to apprehend that *et* meant 'also (*etiam*), opposing *Caesarem* to *Romuli*, and a consequent demand for another co-ordinated accusative'.

(*b*) Bährens (1872), with whom Owen (1893) agrees, transposes lines 71–2 in S to follow lines 73–4, thus:

70 ipsa Laurentem puella, coniugem nato dedit,
73 unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
74 Romuli matrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem;
71 moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem:
72 Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias.

The meaning will then be: 'She (Venus) gave Lavinia to Aeneas, and from their union sprang the Ramnes and Quirites, Rhea Silvia and Caesar. She gave Rhea Silvia to Mars and the Sabines to the Romans.' But even this is awkward: for, after having already reached Rhea Silvia and Caesar, it is confusing to hark back to Rhea Silvia again and the rape of the Sabines. Riese (1869) writes the lines thus:

70 ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit:
71 moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem,
74 Romuli matrem, crearet ut nepotem Caesarem
73 . . . proque prole posterum
72 Romuleas ipsa fecit cum Sabinis nuptias,
73 unde Ramnes et Quirites. . . .

But, to my mind, this is no improvement; and I think that the passage evidently contains, as the MSS. indicate, a summary of Roman history beginning with Aeneas and ending with the Caesars.

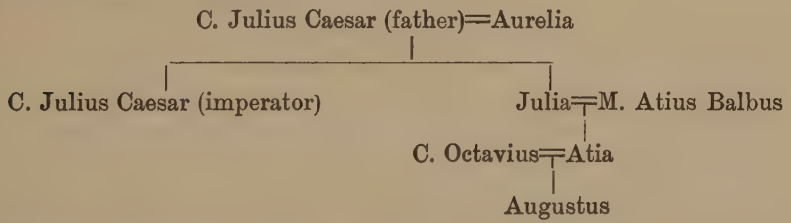
(*c*) Bücheler (1859), with whom in this respect Mackail (1912) agrees, omits line S 72 and reads:

70 ipsa Laurentem puellam coniugem nato dedit:
71 moxque Marti de sacello dat pudicam uirginem,
73 unde Ramnes et Quirites proque prole posterum
74 Romulum patrem crearet et nepotem Caesarem.

Mackail then translates: 'Herself she gave her son the Laurentine maid for

bride, and gives thereafter to Mars the shy cloistered virgin, from these to beget Ramnes and Quirites, and for issue of posterity Romulus the sire and Caesar the grandchild of her line'. But, even so, it is awkward to find the Ramnes and Quirites interposed between Rhea Silvia and her son Romulus. Bücheler entirely deletes line S 72. Mackail transposes it to follow line S 69, which he transfers in its turn to follow line S 64: see Introduction, p. 42.

I do not think that these violent remedies are called for; and, after much hesitation, I am inclined to adopt the emendation suggested by Lips, as involving the least change in the text of ST. Bücheler objects on several grounds. (1) He says that all the tetrameters of the poem are self-contained in meaning; and that, therefore, to connect the first word of a line with the last word of a preceding line, and to place a stop after it, as would be done by construing *pro prole posterorum Romuli*, is objectionable. But the stop after *inbuit*, the first word in line 20, is a contrary instance, which effectually disposes of this argument. (2) Bücheler points out that Augustus was not the *nepos*, 'grandson', of C. Julius Caesar. The actual relationship of these two men is shown in the following table:



Caesar, being childless, adopted his grandnephew into the Julian gens and made him his heir, whereby the latter acquired the designation C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. Subsequently, Octavian, after attaining the position of *princeps civitatis*, was given the *cognomen* of Augustus by the senate, on January 17, 27 B.C. Surely, then, it is an allowable poetic licence to refer to an adopted grandnephew as *nepos*. (3) Bücheler objects that, as the *Pervigilium* was certainly not composed in the Augustan age, it would be out of place for its author to refer specially to Caesar and Augustus in this manner.

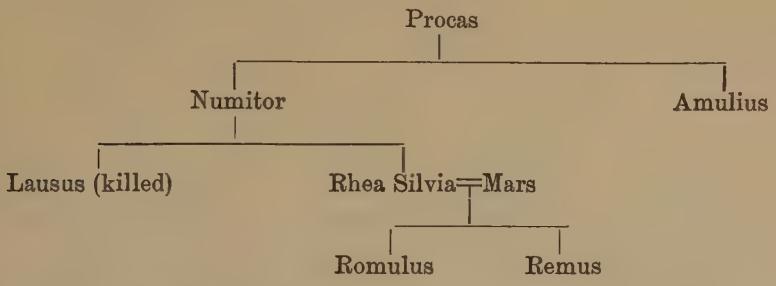
But, after Caesar, all the Roman Emperors bore the title Caesar; and after Augustus, they all bore the title Augustus; while, under Hadrian (A. D. 117–138), it was decided that thereafter Augustus should be the designation of the ruling Emperor and Caesar the title of the heir to the throne, or crown-prince. What then could be more natural than a reference to these two famous men, the founders of the whole line of Caesars, particularly in view of the fact that the Julian *gens* traced a legendary descent from Iulus, the founder of Alba Longa, who was son of Aeneas and grandson of Venus and Anchises? Julius Caesar always made the most of his divine ancestry, and built a temple in the Roman forum to Venus Genetrix.

The corruption of *patrem* into *matrem* would easily be accounted for by supposing that a copyist, who construed *Romuli patrem* together, saw that it was sheer nonsense to say that Venus created the father of Romulus, i. e. Mars, and, therefore, wrote *Romuli matrem*, i. e. Rhea Silvia, instead. It would be an illustration of the danger of a little knowledge in transcribers of MSS.

72. **de sacello**, 'from the shrine', sc. of Vesta (Ἑστία), the goddess of the fire and the domestic hearth. The cult of Vesta was most probably derived from the custom among primitive people for each village to maintain a constant fire for general use, in order to avoid the necessity of obtaining a spark by friction in case of the accidental extinction of all the village fires (cf. Sir J. G. Frazer in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv, pp. 145–72). This fire, the central hearth of the village (*focus publicus*), became a sacred symbol of home and family life. The form of the primitive house in which the fire was preserved, probably a round hut made of wattled osiers daubed with clay, appears to have survived both in the circular πρυτανεῖον of the Greeks and in the *Aedes Vestae* in Rome. The small size of the shrine justifies the diminutive *sacellum* in this passage. It would naturally devolve upon young girls and unmarried women to watch and keep burning the fire of the *focus publicus*, and hence may have arisen the Roman order of virgin priestesses, the Vestals, whose chief duty it was to tend the sacred fire.

pudicam uirginem, sc. Rhea Silvia, a Vestal virgin, for whose story see Livy i. 3–4. Her poetical name was Ilia (Ovid, *F.* iv. 55). According to

legend, she became by Mars the mother of twins, Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome. The family tree is as follows:



73–4. The *populus Romanus* was, we are told, divided into three tribes, Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres: cf. Propertius, iv. i. 31 *hinc Titiens Ramnesque viri Luceresque coloni.* These three names, as Schulze (*Lat. Eigennamen*, p. 580) has shown, are neither more nor less than the names of three Etruscan *gentes.* But, as early as Ennius, there was a tradition connecting the Ramnes with Romulus and the Tities with Titus Tatius: cf. Varro, *L. L.* v. 55. Romulus, the legendary eponymous founder and first king (753–716 B. C.) of Rome, had as his most formidable foe Titus Tatius, King of the Sabines, who is also a legendary personage, being eponymous hero of the religious college called *Sodales Titii.* It is said that Romulus strengthened his following by offering an 'asylum' to outcasts and fugitives, and found wives for them by capture. The story of the rape of the Sabine women (Livy, i. 9 sqq.) is clearly aetiological, invented to account for the custom of marriage by capture; and it is generally agreed that the capture of the Capitol by Tatius may contain an historical element, pointing to an early conquest of Rome by the Sabines, of which there are some indications. Subsequently, to efface the recollection of an event so distasteful to Roman vanity and national pride, Sabine names and customs were accounted for by a supposed union of Romans and Sabines during the regal period, the result of a friendly league concluded between Romulus and Tatius after their obstinate struggle: cf. Servius, ad Virgil, *A.* vii. 710 *post foedus Tatii et Romuli placuit ut quasi unus de duobus fieret populus.*

Unde et Romani Quirites dicti sunt, quod nomen Sabinorum fuerat a civitate Curibus, et Sabini a Romulo Romani dicti sunt. Ibidem v. 560 *Varro tamen dicit Romulum dimicantem contra Tatium a Lucumonibus, hoc ex Tuscis, auxilia postulasse: unde quidam venit cum exercitu cui, recepto iam Tatio, pars urbis est data a quo in urbe Tuscus dictus est vicus.* Thus the Luceres were recognized as the Etruscan element in the population and their tribal chief was Lucumo: cf. Cicero *de Rep.* ii. 14 (*Romulus*) *populum et suo et Tatii nomine et Lucumonis . . . in tribus tres . . . discripserat.*

Romuleas, the word is specially appropriate in view of the following line; cf. Livy, i. 13. 8 *Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati.* Thus *Romuleas* and *Sabinis* in this line correspond respectively with *Ramnes* and *Quirites* in the next. This is, of course, an additional argument against transposition or deletion of line 73. Elsewhere, however, the adjective is always scanned *Romulĕus*; cf. Ovid, *F.* iii. 67:

Romulĕoque cadit traiectus Amulius ense;

Virgil, *A.* viii. 654:

Romulĕoque recens horrebat regia culmo:

Juvenal, *S.* xi. 104;

Romulĕae simulacra ferae.

The difficulty as to scansion could be removed by emending *Romulares* (Rigler), *Romulas et* (Estaço), or *Romulaeas* (Pithou), while Frei comments: 'Nach Ritschl *De sepulcro Furiorum Tusculano disp. grammatica, Berol.*, 1853, wird eine Form *Romulēas* oder vielleicht *Romuleias* erklärlich.' But I do not think emendation is really necessary; for, as Owen (1893) observes, Roman poets were lax in dealing with the quantity of proper names, the syllables of which they lengthened or shortened to suit their own convenience: see Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 4 (about a poem on the Dacian war), *Non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbara et fera nomina, imprimis regis ipsius, Graecis versibus non resultent. Sed nihil est quod non arte curaque, si non potest vinci, mitigetur. Praeterea, si datur Homero et mollia vocabula et Graeca ad levitatem versus contrahere, extendere, inflectere, cur tibi similis audentia, praesertim non delicata sed necessaria, non detur?* It is quite possible that the third syllable of *Romuleus* may have

been short or long at option: cf. *Daedalĕus*, which Horace (*C.* iv. 2. 2) scans *ope Daedalēa*, while Propertius (ii. 14. 8) writes:

Daedalĕum lino cum duce rexit iter:

(so Lewis and Short: but many editors of Propertius read *Daedalium*). Compare also Catullus, lxiv. 38:

Pharsăliam coeunt, Pharsālia tecta frequentant.

Virgil has *Grădivus* four times against *Grādivus* forty-nine times. Ovid, *H.* 14. 103 (and *Ibis* 624) writes, *quid Īo freta longa pererras?* In *Am.* i. 1. 21 he has *exterrita cornibus Īo*. Owen further points out that, with the decline of Latin, the laws of quantity were less rigidly observed, and he collects the following instances from the *Anthologia Latina* (ed. Bährens), viz.:

(1) *Lengthenings*: 206. 23: *nēgavere* deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset.

323. 2: prodidit atque urbem his *Brĭsēīda* suam.

378. 71: *mentēque* fugaci; 495. 1: bella die *noctēque*; 415. 11: urbe *Perīander* genitus.

494. 2: impleret cuncti viscera *nēgŏtii*.

528. 4: *phīlosophum* revocat.

(2) *Shortenings*: 378. 47: depositumque suum *măluit* committere blandis.

330. 2: inseditque bovi non *revĭsura* parem.

211. 81: statuere *prĭmordia* rerum; 378. 20: laqueos *rogătura* resolvi. See also my note on line 11.

The adjective *Romuleus* approximates very closely to *Romanus* in meaning; and Schenkl compares *Romulei Quirites* (Flav. Vop. Firm. 4), *Romuleis bonis* and *Romuleis classibus* (Rut. Claud. Nam. i. 2 and 152); cf. Silius Ital. xiii. 793; also Ovid, *F.* v. 259–60:

qui memor accepti per me natalis 'Habeto
tu quoque Romulea' dixit 'in urbe locum'.

Compare also *Romula tellus* (Virgil, *A.* vi. 876); *optime Romulae custos gentis* (Horace, *C.* iv. 5. 1); *Romulae genti date remque prolemque* (Horace, *C. S.* 47). These passages sufficiently dispose of Bücheler's objection that *Romuleas*, in this passage, can only mean 'of Romulus', and cannot mean 'of the Romans', or (as I understand it in this passage) 'of the followers of Romulus'.

fecit . . . nuptias: cf. Livy, i. 9. 14, who represents Romulus as explaining to the captured Sabine women *illas tamen in matrimonio . . . fore.* For the phrase *nuptias facere* compare Plautus, *Aul.* ii. 2. 83 *sed nuptias hodie quin faciamus, numquae causast?*

74. **Quirites.** The word is probably derived from *Quiris* or *curis* = *hasta* (spearman), or else from *curia*, i. e. member of one of the thirty *curiae* into which the primitive *populus Romanus* was divided. But the popular etymology is that given by Livy, i. 13. 5 *Quirites a Curibus appellati*, i. e. from the Sabine town *Cures* (now called Corese) between the Tiber and the *via Salaria.* However, the name of the Sabine god *Quirinus* ('wielder of the spear') seems to be at least indirectly connected with the town-name *Cures.* The ceremonial designation of the Roman people was *populus Romanus Quiritium* (cf. Livy, i. 32. 13 ; xxii. 10. 2), indicating the fusion of the Roman and Sabine elements.

pro . . . prole posterum Romuli, 'for the benefit of the race of the descendants of Romulus': cf. Virgil, *A.* vi. 763 *tua postuma proles.* For the contraction *posterûm* for *posterorum*, compare Tacitus, *A.* iii. 72 *posterûm gloria* ; and, for the use of *pro*, cf. Horace, *C.* iii. 2. 13 *pro patria mori.*

75. See note on lines 71–5. I would paraphrase the whole stanza thus: 'Venus brought her son, Aeneas, from Troy to Latium, where she gave him to wife Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus, previously affianced to Turnus of Laurentum. It was Venus who not long afterwards gave Rhea Silvia, the Vestal, to Mars ; and from this union Romulus was born. It was Venus who gave to the followers of Romulus their Sabine brides, thus welding together two tribes from which the *populus Romanus* was formed ; and it was she who, for the benefit of the Romans of a later age, created Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus, the founders of the Roman Empire.'

77–80. For the ideas contained in this stanza compare Ovid, *F.* 125–6 :

> nec Veneri tempus, quam ver, erat aptius ullum.
> vere nitent terrae : vere remissus ager.

77. **uoluptas**, sc. Venus: cf. Athenaeus, xv. 11, p. 687 : *τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ἡδονήν τινα οὖσαν δαίμονα.* Lucretius, i. 1 :

> Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divumque Voluptas,
> alma Venus.

Also Ovid, *F.* iv. 99: *Quid genus omne creat volucrum, nisi blanda Voluptas?* Cicero, *de N. D.* ii. 23. 61 *Rerum quia vis erat tanta, ut sine deo regi non posset, ipsa res deorum nomen obtinuit. Quo ex genere Cupidinis et Voluptatis et Lubentinae Veneris vocabula consecrata sunt.* The deified *Voluptas* should more properly be written *Volupia*: see Varro, *L. L.* v. 164 *in Nova Via ad Volupiae sacellum*; and Macrobius, *S.* i. 10. 8 mentions her *sacellum* and *ara.*

The old Roman and Latin goddess, *Venus*, apparently representing beauty and growth in nature, and especially in gardens, had two temples in Rome, one in the grove of Libitina, with whom she was wrongly identified, and the other near the Circus Maximus. Both temples had as their dedication day the 19th August, the festival of the *Vinalia rustica*, a fact which also seems to indicate that Venus was regarded as the protectress of skilled cultivation. This old Latin deity was in historical times entirely absorbed by the Greek Ἀφροδίτη, who was also worshipped as the goddess of all fruitfulness in the vegetable world. As such in Crete she is called Ἀνθεία (the flower-goddess), at Athens ἐν κήποις (in the gardens), and at Samos ἐν καλάμοις (in the reed-beds) or ἐν ἕλει (in the marsh). Her character as a goddess of vegetation is clearly shown in the cult and ritual of Adonis (L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii, p. 644) and Attis.

78. **Amor . . . rure natus dicitur**: cf. Tibullus, ii. 1. 67:

ipse interque greges interque armenta Cupido
natus, et indomitas dicitur inter equas.

79. **ager cum parturiret.** 'Him, while the field broke to birth, herself she took up into her bosom' (Mackail). So punctuated by Orelli (1831) and the anonymous Leipzig editor (1852), both of whom explain the words *ager cum parturiret* as equivalent to *verno tempore.* Pithou (1587), followed by Bücheler (1859), punctuates:

hunc ager cum parturiret, ipsa suscepit sinu;

thus making the glebeland mother of Amor. But this is contradicted by the words *Amor, puer Dionae*, in the immediately preceding line as well as by the reference to Dione as *pueri mater alitis* in line 67. Lips (1580) obviates this criticism by punctuating:

hunc ager, cum parturiret ipsa, suscepit sinu;

and Wernsdorf (1782), who agrees with Lips, explains: 'E Venere puerpera natus est Amor, a terra tanquam nutrice exceptus.' But in that case *ipsa*, sc. Venus, in the following line is awkward as involving a change of subject; and this leads Sanadon (1728) to write:

hunc ager, cum parturiret illa, suscepit sinu:
ipse (sc. ager) florum delicatis, etc.

No such remedies are needed; and Orelli's view is, I think, substantiated by the fact that Virgil, *G.* ii. 330, in the passage imitated by the author of the *Pervigilium* (see notes on lines 1 and 8 sqq.) writes:

parturit almus ager, Zephyrique tepentibus auris
laxant arva sinus.

suscepit sinu: cf. Statius, *Silv.* i. 2. 111:

tellure cadentem
accepi fovique sinu.

80. **florum osculis**: cf. line 33, where the rose is said to be made from the kisses of Amor.

82 sqq. Compare Ovid, *F.* iv. 99–104:

Quid genus omne creat volucrum, nisi blanda voluptas?
Nec coeant pecudes, si levis absit amor.
Cum mare trux aries cornu decertat: at idem
Frontem dilectae laedere parcit ovis.
Deposita sequitur taurus feritate iuvencam,
Quem toti saltus, quem nemus omne tremit.

82. This line appears to be imitated from Calpurnius, *E.* i. 4–5:

cernis ut, ecce! pater quas tradidit, Ornite, vaccae
molle sub hirsuta latus explicuere genesta?

subter genestas. Both MSS. read *super genestas.* But see Introduction, pp. 66–7. I agree with Jan van Broekhuyzen (1708), whom Wernsdorf (1782) and Bücheler (1859) follow, that the emendation *subter* is required. Cattle do not lie 'upon', but 'underneath the broom'.

83. **tutus** S: 'safe from rivalry': gives a perfectly good meaning. In T it is corrupted into *tuus*. I see no need for the emendation *laetus* adopted by Prasch (1666) and Bährens (1872), or *torvus* adopted by the anonymous Leipzig editor (1852); nor can I see any justification for the violent alteration *quisque coetus continetur*, 'each community is held together in wedlock-band', originally proposed by Lips (1580), and accepted by Rivinus (1644) and Mackail (1912).

coniugali: cf. Tacitus, *A.* xi. 4 *coniugalis amor*; and idem, *Germ.* viii. *licentia coniugalis.*

84. **maritis.** Used of animals, as of the he-goat in Horace, *C.* i. 17. 7 *olentis uxores mariti*: cf. Virgil, *G.* iii. 125 *quem legere ducem et pecori dixere maritum*: idem, *E.* vii. 7 *vir gregis ipse caper*: Theocritus, viii. 49 ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγῶν ἄνερ.

balantum greges, i. e. sheep: cf. Virgil, *G.* i. 272:

balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.

86. This line is adapted from Virgil, *A.* xi. 458:

dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cygni.

perstrepunt: cf. Claudianus, *in Rufin.* i. 214 *turba salutantum laetas ibi perstrepit aedes*: idem, *de Cons. Mall. Theod.* 285 *perstrepit hinnitu Baetin*: Appuleius, *M.* iii. 1 (*Oud.*, p. 174), *frequenti clamore ianuae nostrae perstrepi.*

87. **Terei puella**, sc. Philomela, the nightingale.

adsonat Terei puella. For the legend of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela see Ovid, *M.* vi. 412 sqq. Pandion, king of Attica, had two daughters, Procne and Philomela. He married the former to Tereus, king of the Thracians, and by her Tereus became the father of Itys. Subsequently, concealing his wife, Tereus raped her sister Philomela, whose tongue he cut out. When Procne heard this, she killed her son Itys and served up the child's flesh to Tereus. She then fled with her sister. Tereus pursued them with an axe, and the two sisters, when overtaken, prayed to the gods that they might be changed into birds. Procne accordingly became a swallow (hence the appropriateness of *chelidon* in line 92), Philomela a nightingale, and Tereus a hoopoo.

puella is used by the poets and in post-classical prose in the meaning of

'a young wife': cf. Ovid, *F.* ii. 557 *viduae cessate puellae*; Horace, *C.* iii. 14. 10; iii. 22. 2; Tacitus, *A.* xiv. 64, of Octavia, wife of Nero; and, xvi. 30, of Servilia, wife of Pollio.

subter umbram populi: cf. Virgil, *G.* iv. 512:

qualis populea maerens Philomela sub umbra.

88. **motus amoris**, 'the emotions of love': cf. Cicero, *de Off.* i. 36. 130 *motus animorum duplices sunt, alteri cogitationis, alteri appetitus.*

musico = μουσικῷ: cf. Cicero, *Leg.* ii. 15. 39 *leges musicae*; Phaedrus, iv 20. 20 *musicum citharae sonum.*

89. **sororem**, sc. Philomelam: cf. Statius, *S.* ii. 4. 21:

et quae Bistonio queritur soror orba cubili.

91. L. Müller compares Paulinus Nolanus, 23. 1 *ver avibus voces aperit: mea lingua suum ver natalem Felicis habet.*

92. **quando fiam uti chelidon**, 'when shall I be like the swallow?', the brilliant emendation of Rivinus (1644), adopted by Bücheler (1859), Owen (1892), and Mackail (1912). S reads *quando fiā ut caelidon*, and T *quando faciam ut celidon.* The word *chelidon* = χελιδών appears not to be used elsewhere in Latin literature; but the adjective *chelidonius* (χελιδόνιος) 'pertaining to the swallow' occurs in Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 37. 79, § 203. The usual Latin word for a swallow is *hirundo.* The incessant twittering of the swallow led Greek and Latin writers to regard it as a synonym for talkativeness: cf. Aristophanes, *Ran.* 93, χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, 'bowers that ring with poetasters' twitterings'; Theophrast, *Charac.* (ed. Jebb). xix. 27 τῶν χελιδόνων δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι λαλίστερος: Virgil, *G.* ix. 307 *garrula hirundo.* Moreover, the swallow was proverbially the harbinger of spring: cf. Aristotle, *Eth. N.* i. 7. 15 μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ; and Ausonius, *inter catalecta P. Pithoei*, i, p. 175 *ver garrula hirundo indicat.* Finally, as has been already observed in the note on line 87, the reference to the nightingale (Philomela) as *Terei puella* gives additional appropriateness to the mention of the swallow (Procne) in this line.

The true meaning of the passage has been completely missed by Wernsdorf (1782) and the anonymous Leipzig editor (1852), who regard *Chelidon* as a proper name (see Introduction, p. 53), although there is no doubt that the word

could be so used; cf. *Chelidon* the female client of Verres, who made him her heir, Cicero, ii. *Verr.* i. 40, § 104; 1. 52, § 137 sqq. Nor is there any need for the violent emendations of some editors, e. g. *quando faciet id coeli donum*, Prasch (1666); *quando fies muta aëdon* Noel (1803); *quando? fuc sciam, chelidon, ut* Moritz Schmidt; for as Rivinus says: 'Facile versus e superioribus posset constitui, vel potius integre, unica saltem restituta postliminio literula, retineri.'

93. **Apollo.** This emendation, which was suggested to Rivinus (1644) by M. J. Thomasius, obviates the spondee in the fifth foot; see note on *uernus* in line 9. It is probable that *foebus*, which appears in ST, was a gloss on Apollo, and was wrongly introduced into the text for the sake of avoiding elision of the monosyllable *me*. This view is expressed by De la Monnoye (1716); and the emendation is accepted by Bücheler (1859) and Mackail (1912). Owen (1893) suggests *Phoebe, nec me respicis.*

respicit, 'is mindful of': said of a protecting deity: cf. Cicero, *Att.* i. 16. 6 *nisi quis nos deus respexerit*: Horace, *C.* i. 2. 36. It is possible that the author of the *Pervigilium* had in mind two passages in Calpurnius, namely, *E.* iv. 9 *nec te diversus Apollo despicit*, and *E.* iv. 87–8:

> me quoque facundo comitatus Apolline Caesar
> respiciat.

94. **Amyclas . . . perdidit silentium**: cf. Virgil, *A.* x. 564 *tacitis regnavit Amyclis*: Silius Italicus viii. 528 *quasque evertere silentia Amyclae.* Compare also the two lines attributed by Servius in his commentary on Virgil (*loc. cit.*) to Lucilius, but by Ribbeck, *Fragm. Com. Lat.* v. 274, 275 (on the authority of the Verona Scholiast on the passage quoted from Virgil) to Afranius:

> Deliberatum est non tacere me amplius:
> Amyclas iam tacendo periisse audio.

Conington notes on the Virgilian passage: 'The Italian Amyclae, or more properly Amunclae, lay between Caieta and Terracina. Its foundation was attributed to settlers from Laconia, who brought with them the name of the Laconian Amyclae, taken (according to Pausanias iii. 2. 6) by the Spartan King Teleclus, cf. Strabo 8, p. 560 D. The epithet *tacitae* probably refers to

the story given by Servius that Amyclae was taken, because, in consequence of a number of false alarms, no one was allowed to announce the enemy's approach. This story is not mentioned in connexion with the Laconian Amyclae either by Pausanias or by Strabo. The Italian Amyclae or Amunclae was, according to Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 59, destroyed by serpents, which leads Servius to give another explanation of the epithet.' Conington concludes that it is uncertain whether the 'silence' story originally belonged to the Greek or to the Italian town.

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